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AN ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF THE
CONSTITUTIONAL RESTRICTIONS
UPON MUNICIPAL INDEBTEDNESS
IN ILLINOIS

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PREFACE

Since 1914 the indebtedness of American municipalities has been increasing at an unprecedented rate. During the last fifteen years a few of the states have made investigations into the extent and manner in which their local units were incurring debts, and have enacted measures to enhance the soundness of their local finance. But the restrictions upon municipal indebtedness in Illinois were adopted in 1870 and may be found in the constitution of that year. In view of the recent increase in municipal debts, and the developments pertaining to their supervision in other states, it was felt that an economic analysis of the restrictions in Illinois would be justified. Many of the problems presented by state supervision of local indebtedness are political and legal in nature, but this analysis is concerned only with the fundamental economic aspects of municipal long term borrowing as they are affected by the constitutional provisions.

The term "municipal" has a varied significance. In this study the terms "municipal," "municipality," and "municipal corporation" relate to the city or village corporation and the city school, sanitary, park, and township high school districts. Only by considering the debts of all these independent corporations may full significance be given to the term "municipal indebtedness," which commonly means the obligations incurred in satisfying the public wants of an urban population.

The State of Illinois has made no provision for the collection of data pertaining to the financial transactions of its municipalities, and that has been an obstacle in the progress of this inquiry. It was necessary to visit the municipal offices of fifteen of the cities included in the study. With the exception of the data used for Graph II on page 66, all statistical data relate to communities of the state having a population of over 15,000 in 1920,¹ for the period from 1915 to 1925. This is the first time that statistics on the growth of funded indebtedness, tax levies, and property valuations for a period of years have been compiled for so large a group of Illinois municipalities. It is hoped that this individual effort at the collection of municipal financial sta-

ment to a more comprehensive state effort, and that the analysis of the present restrictions will be of some value in framing future provisions.

The writer takes this opportunity to express his gratitude to the members of the Economics Seminar, in charge of Professor N A Weston of the University of Illinois, for their many kindly and constructive criticisms as successive sections of the manuscript were presented. He feels particularly indebted and grateful to Professor M H Hunter for his patient and helpful guidance throughout the preparation of this study.

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CHAPTER I

DEVELOPMENT OF CONSTITUTIONAL RESTRICTIONS

It is the purpose of this chapter to set forth a historical development of the constitutional provisions relative to municipal indebtedness, and to show why those provisions were inserted. It is not proposed to trace all provisions and proposals through the debates of the constitutional conventions, but only to portray the conditions which prevailed at the time the restrictions were made in order to give some idea of the conditions which influenced the framers of the constitutions. Such a study may conveniently be divided as follows: (a) the period before 1870, and (b) the period after 1870.

THE PERIOD BEFORE 1870

Constitutions of 1818 and 1848

In the constitutions of 1818 and 1848 the indebtedness of the municipalities of Illinois received no mention. As far as public debts were concerned, the attention of the framers of the constitutions was centered upon the problem of the indebtedness of the state, this being the period of rapid development of internal improvements by the states, and a period remembered especially for its reckless public finance. The indebtedness of municipalities did not become of sufficient significance to cause alarm until the limitation on the debt of the state in 1848 had caused cities and other units of local government to engage in the business of obtaining and financing railroads.

The power to borrow money was not mentioned in the early special municipal charters. In the '30's the subject attained some importance, as, for example, in 1837 the Town of Upper Alton was granted the power to "borrow money and pledge the revenue and faith of the corporation and issue scrip or bonds for the payment of the same."¹ Under an act to incorporate the city of Springfield in 1839, the corporation was authorized

¹*Acts of Illinois*, 1837, sec. 1, p. 17.

"to establish, support, and regulate common schools, borrow money on the credit of the corporation, provided that no sums shall be borrowed at a greater rate than six per cent per annum, nor shall the interest on the aggregate of all sums borrowed and outstanding ever exceed one-half the city revenue arising from taxes assessed on real property within its corporation"² In 1852 Pekin was granted power "to borrow any sum or sums of money not exceeding \$50,000 for the purpose of making a steamboat landing at said city of Pekin, and issue her bonds for the payment of any money she may borrow under the provisions of this act"³

Thus there was no general law applying to the indebtedness of all municipalities and each corporation obtained borrowing power by a special act of the legislature, just as it secured its charter of incorporation If granted the power to borrow, the extent of that power was limited only by the provisions of the special act In 1849⁴ it was provided that all villages and towns having a population of over 1,500 might be incorporated under general laws, in which case the provisions in the special charters of Springfield and Quincy would apply It was not until 1872 that a general incorporation act for cities was passed⁵ It was amended in 1879 to apply to all cities incorporated in any manner,⁶ and permits municipal councils "to borrow money on the credit of the corporation for corporate purposes."⁷

Proposed Constitution of 1862

The proposed and rejected Constitution of 1862 is important to the purpose of this study because of its indication of the sentiment which had arisen against the extravagances of local governmental units at that time It is a reflection of the conditions which, growing more serious by 1870, necessitated a provision in the Constitution of that year, which was only slightly different from that proposed in 1862

²*Ibid.*, 1839, sec 3, p 9

³*Statutes of Illinois*, 1852, sec 1, p 41

⁴*Laws of Illinois*, 1849, p. 224

⁵For further discussion of early Illinois municipal history, see articles by E. A. Helms, *Illinois Municipal Review*, Vol VII, Nos 1 and 2

⁶*Hurd's Revised Statutes* (1908), chap 24, par 283

⁷*Ibid.*, par 62

As a result of extended discussion in the convention the following section⁸ was included in the draft submitted to the people

The credit of the state, or of any county, city, town, township or school district thereof, shall not, in any manner, be given to or in aid of any individual, association or corporation, and neither the State, nor any county, city, town, township or school district thereof, shall ever become subscriber to the stock of any corporation or association whatever, or in aid of any such corporation or association

This proposed section was a result of the increasingly great financial aid given to railroads by counties, towns, cities and villages. The constitution of 1848 had limited the debt of the state to \$250,000 and prohibited it from lending its credit toward internal improvements, but it further provided that the General Assembly should encourage internal improvements by passing liberal laws of incorporation for that purpose.⁹ In 1849 the General Assembly proceeded to encourage the development of internal improvements by passing a law which made it possible for each county and town to subscribe \$100,000 to railroad bonds, on approval by a popular vote, either issuing its own bonds therefor, or pledging the faith of the county or town for the payment of the principal and interest.¹⁰ With the state barred from this activity and the legislature giving encouragement to these local units, the result was competition among localities for the acquisition of new railroads, and they entered into an orgy of contracting indebtedness, often for unsound and reckless gifts. Prior to this time the members of the legislature had vied with each other in securing aid from the state for enterprises which were to make their respective localities prosperous. By 1862 the total local debt in the state had reached \$20,000,000¹¹ and was still increasing.

The Address to the People of Illinois, the communication of the convention which formally presented the proposed draft to the people, contained the following remarks concerning local indebtedness

⁸*Proposed Constitution of 1862*, sec. 35, art. IV

⁹*Constitution of 1848*, art. X, sec. 6

¹⁰*Laws of Illinois*, 1849, 2 sess., pp. 22-9

¹¹*Proceedings*, Feb. 10, *Illinois State Journal*, Feb. 18, 1862, Springfield

the history of the past few years has shown that counties, cities, etc., have become greatly embarrassed, and in some cases, have attempted repudiation as a result of the same system that nearly ruined the state in 1837. The enormous taxes now wrung from the people in different counties, to pay interest on stock invested in railroads, have shown the evils of the system. Accordingly your delegates, responding to the known wishes of the people, have provided the same restrictions for counties, cities, towns, districts, etc., as have under the Constitution of 1847 operated so beneficially to the state.¹²

Such was the attitude of the convention and the attitude of the people as interpreted by the convention. It must not be supposed, however, that every locality in the state was in favor of such a restriction on its power. In general, as is shown by the utterances of convention delegates, the northern localities of the state were in favor of the restriction, and the southern localities, especially those which already had invested and were contemplating further investments in railroads, were opposed to the limitation.¹³

The attempt of the convention to bring to an end the unsound local finance of the period was a commendable one. The section, however, had little to do with the defeat of the proposed constitution as other topics such as banking and currency, the Civil War, and the investigation of state expenditures were the topics of interest.¹⁴ With the defeat of the proposed draft the localities of the state had eight more years of freedom from constitutional restrictions on their indebtedness, and the increase in their debts during the succeeding eight years shows that they took advantage of their freedom. In 1862 the total *gross local* debt was estimated to be around \$20,000,000¹⁵ and in 1870 the total *municipal* debt alone was over \$37,000,000.¹⁶

THE PERIOD AFTER 1870

Constitution of 1870

With local indebtedness still increasing rapidly, as is indicated above, it was evident that something had to be done to

¹²*Journal*, p. 1046

¹³The *Illinois State Journal* (daily), Jan. 7 to June 6, 1862, Springfield, contains proceedings of the convention.

¹⁴O. M. Dickerson, *The Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1862*, University Studies, Vol. I, No. 9, Urbana, Ill., 1905.

¹⁵N. 11 above.

¹⁶*U. S. Census, 1870, Compendium*, p. 650.

prevent localities from hopelessly plunging into debt. In many cases the increase in debt was beyond the control of the local taxpayer. A newly organized railroad company would move its little horde of Irish laborers into a community and after employing attorneys and getting the issue far enough along for an election, would get the laborers naturalized, and before the local tax-payer realized it, he was paying taxes to aid the railroad.¹⁷ The total *local* debt in 1870 was some \$50,000,000,¹⁸ thus showing an increase of 150 per cent in eight years.

The Constitution of 1870 contains several provisions relative to local indebtedness, the most important of which is the present limitation

No county, city, township, school district or other municipal corporation shall be allowed to become indebted in any manner or for any purpose, to an amount, including existing indebtedness, in the aggregate exceeding five per centum on the value of the taxable property therein, to be ascertained by the last assessment for State and county taxes, previous to the incurring of such indebtedness. Any county, city, school district, or other municipal corporation, incurring any indebtedness as aforesaid, shall before, or at the time of doing so, provide for the collection of a direct annual tax sufficient to pay the interest on such debt, as it falls due, and also to pay and discharge the principal thereof within twenty years from the time of contracting the same.

This section shall not be construed to prevent any county, city, township, school district, or other municipal corporation, from issuing their bonds in compliance with any vote of the people which may have been had prior to the adoption of this constitution in pursuance of any law providing therefor.¹⁹

In adopting this section the convention made Illinois a pioneer state in the matter of constitutional limitations on local indebtedness. It was the second state to provide for a debt limit of a certain per cent of the value of taxable property.²⁰ It was the first state to require the levy of an "annual tax sufficient to pay the interest as it falls due and to discharge the principal" within a definite period of time.²¹ At the time of its

¹⁷Proceedings, Feb 11, *Illinois State Journal*, Feb 12, 1862.

¹⁸*Journal*, p 985 (in "Address to the People"). See n 14 for *municipal* indebtedness in 1870.

¹⁹*Constitution of 1870*, sec 12, art. IX.

²⁰Iowa had provided for a 5 per cent limitation in the *Constitution of 1857*, art. XI, sec 3.

²¹For limitations in other states, see Horace Secrist, *An Economic Analysis of the Constitutional Restrictions upon Public Indebtedness in the United States*, University of Wisconsin Bulletin No 637 (1914).

adoption in Illinois, the per cent limitation was considered a progressive measure, and was considered so by people outside the state, as is indicated by the number of states which subsequently adopted the measure ²²

While the provision in the proposed constitution of 1862 went down with the defeat of that draft, the conditions by 1869 and 1870 warranted still more a provision prohibiting the almost indiscriminate granting of aid to railroads through purchase of their stock or lending the credit of the community for that purpose. In the Constitution of 1870 is found the following separate section:

No county, city, town, township, or other municipality shall ever become subscriber to the capital stock of any railroad or private corporation, or make donation to or loan its credit in aid of, such corporation. Provided, however, that the adoption of this article shall not be construed as affecting the right of any municipality to make such subscriptions where the same have been authorized, under existing laws, by a vote of the people of such municipalities prior to such adoption ²³

It was necessary to make some provision for the exemption of subscriptions to railroads which had been duly "authorized, under existing laws," prior to the adoption of the constitution, in order to secure the adoption, in the convention, of both Section 12 of Article IX and Separate Section 2 which was voted on separately. The delegates were not so much concerned about the effect of the restrictions in the future as they were about their effect upon projects which were under way at the time. There was some fear in the convention that the provisions of Separate Section 2 would not be acceptable to the people and, in order not to have the whole constitution defeated because of the inclusion of those provisions, they placed them in a separate section, so that their possible defeat would not jeopardize the success of the remainder of the convention's labors. The final vote of the people proved the fears of the convention unfounded as the separate section received a greater majority than did the constitution ²⁴. Thus by a decisive expression of the people, who

²²At present twenty-six states have a constitutional limitation. L. Lancaster, *State Supervision of Municipal Indebtedness*, p. 26

²³Separate sec. 2

²⁴*Debates*, II, 1894-5. Votes for, 134,114; against, 34,061

for the first time had an opportunity to vote on the question separately, there was a definite prohibition of municipalities lending their credit and becoming subscribers to the stock of private corporations

In the Constitution of 1848 there was the provision that "The credit of the state shall not, in any manner, be given to or in aid of any individual, association or corporation"²⁵ This did not specify the type of corporation—public or private In the Convention of 1862, in order to prevent the state from paying local debts, the proposal was made to insert a provision that "the state shall never assume the debts of any county, city, or township corporation whatever"²⁶ This was proposed as an amendment to Section 38, but in the draft submitted to the people in 1862 it had been omitted and that section was submitted as it appears above on page 13 Thus as early as 1862 there was some fear that the state might be required to pay or assume the obligations so carelessly contracted by the local units of government By 1870 there was even more apprehension that this might be the case, as is well illustrated by the utterance of delegate Medill, who in expressing himself in the following manner expressed the sentiment of the convention²⁷

I can see like a creeping shadow on the wall, the time approaching when a log-rolling scheme will be brought into some future legislature, to saddle on the State of Illinois, the assumption of that \$40,000,000 (local indebtedness) perhaps twice, aye! thrice told I regard this section as of the intensest importance, as the ounce of prevention that some day will save more than a pound of cure²⁸

With this sentiment prevailing in the convention it is not surprising to find a section in the Constitution of 1870 providing that "The State shall never pay, assume or become responsible for the debts or liabilities of, or in any manner give, loan or extend its credit to, or in aid of any public or other corporation,

²⁵*Constitution of 1848*, art. III, sec. 38

²⁶The proposed amendment was to be at the end of sec. 38, and the section was adopted by the convention Proceedings, Feb. 11, *Illinois State Journal*, Feb. 19, 1862 When the Committee on Revision and Adjustment reported back the Legislative Article, this amendment had been omitted

²⁷For debates on the question of restrictions on local indebtedness, see *Debates*, I, 833-61, 1256-60

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 220

association or individual."²⁰ This section specifically mentions public corporations and thus when the people accepted the Constitution it was definitely established that the state was not liable for municipal debts.

It was further provided that

The General Assembly shall not impose taxes upon municipal corporations, or the inhabitants or property thereof, for corporate purposes, but shall require that all the taxable property within the limits of municipal corporations shall be taxed for the payment of debts contracted under authority of law, such taxes to be uniform in respect to persons and property, within the jurisdiction of the body imposing the same. Private property shall not be liable to be taken or sold for the payment of the corporate debts of a municipal corporation.²¹

The Constitution of 1848 and the rejected Constitution of 1862 specified that "the General Assembly shall require that all property within the limits of municipal corporations belonging to individuals (in 1848 "belonging to individuals," and in 1862 "individuals or corporations") shall be taxed for the payment of debts contracted under the authority of law."²¹ But neither of these earlier constitutions had stated that "private property shall not be taken or sold for the payment of the corporate debts."

The constitutional restrictions on municipal indebtedness today are those of 1870. As is shown by the discussion in the convention most of the delegates were thinking only of debts for railroads and, in the case of counties, court houses.²² They were not considering that water works, gas works, libraries, museums, and parks and playgrounds would ever be the occasion of large municipal expenditures and debts. But later developments proved their fears well founded. One writer states that "of the three hundred municipalities in Illinois that issued railroad aid bonds in the old days, over one-third repudiated them."²³

²⁰Constitution of 1870, art IV, sec 20.

²¹*Ibid.*, art IX, sec 10.

²²Constitution of 1848, art IX, sec 5, Constitution of 1862, art VII, sec 4.

²³Macoupin County had constructed a court house at a cost of over a million dollars.

²⁴Lawrence Chamberlain, *The Principles of Bond Investment*, p 228.

Moreover, the limitation was effective in checking the increase in municipal indebtedness ⁸⁴

Amendments

Two amendments to the Constitution of 1870 have modified the effects of the provisions of 1870 as they relate to Chicago. The first amendment came in 1890, and was added to the revenue article making it possible for Chicago to issue \$5,000,000 of bonds for the World's Columbian Exposition ⁸⁵. The principal was to be payable within thirty years and, to be adopted, the amendment had to receive a majority of the votes cast in Chicago ⁸⁶.

In 1904, another amendment was adopted authorizing special legislation for Chicago ⁸⁷. It authorized a total debt for the city (including the debt of all municipal corporations within the city and the city's share of the county and sanitary district debt) of not to exceed five per cent of the full value of *taxable property*. For new bonded indebtedness, except for refunding purposes, a referendum was required. The city's share of the county and sanitary district debt was to be determined in any way prescribed by the General Assembly. These provisions were conditional, however, upon the consolidation of the local municipal governments of Chicago, and that has not taken place ⁸⁸.

Proposed Constitution of 1920

In the constitutional convention of 1920-22 there was considerable discussion of municipal and local debts and several proposals were made which, if adopted, would have remedied

⁸⁴Total Illinois municipal debt in 1870, \$37,300,933 (*U S Census*, 1870, *Compendium*, p. 650), 1880, \$44,942,422, and 1890, \$40,656,742 (*Wealth, Debt and Taxation*, 1902, p. 460).

⁸⁵The amendment was added as sec. 13, art. IX, of the *Constitution of 1870*.

⁸⁶Total vote in state 677,817, for, 500,299, against, 55,073. *Illinois Blue Book*, 1925-26, p. 256.

⁸⁷Art. IV, sec. 34. Total vote in state 1,089,458, for, 678,393, against, 94,038. *Ibid*.

⁸⁸By an act of the Special Session of the legislature in February, 1928, however, Chicago and Cook County and its municipal corporations are given a limit of 5 per cent of the full value of taxable property. See below, pp. 55-56.

somewhat some of the undesirable and defective provisions of a half century ago. However, the convention made no provisions which were new and not much that could be called progressive in the draft which was submitted to the people and defeated by an overwhelming majority.³⁹ The provisions relative to public debt did not play a significant part in the rejection of the proposed draft, so it will be sufficient to note merely some of the proposals and provisions to see to what extent they would have changed the provisions in the limitation of 1870.

In the data and material compiled by the Legislative Reference Bureau for the use of the convention, several suggestions were made. Some of the defects of a per cent limitation were pointed out, and it was suggested that debts incurred for the purpose of acquiring income producing properties be excluded from the general limitation.⁴⁰ A system of administrative control over local indebtedness was also recommended.⁴¹ Nevertheless the question of administrative control (except in case of public utility debts) did not come before the convention. Various proposals were made in the convention for a new base for calculating the limit, the most important being 5 per cent of the full value of real estate,⁴² and that the debt should not exceed a certain number of times the income of the municipality.⁴³ It was further proposed to allow an additional indebtedness, over

³⁹Vote for, 185,298, against, 921,398. *Ibid*

⁴⁰*List of Suggestions for Constitutional Change together with Texts of Constitutions of Illinois*, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1919, p. 23, Constitutional Convention Bulletin No. 4, *State and Local Finance*, p. 303.

⁴¹Const. Con. Bul. No. 4, *State and Local Finance*, p. 303.

⁴²*Proceedings*, I, 401. To show the effect of this proposal, it was pointed out that it would increase the debt limit of Chicago \$117,000,000, using 1919 assessed valuation as a basis of comparison. The proposal was objected to on the grounds that real estate owners would have increased burdens due to non-property owners encouraging a higher valuation of real estate in order to increase the debt limit.

⁴³*Ibid*, p. 403. This proposal was made by Rufus C. Dawes, who wished to relate debt to ability to pay and bring public finance on the same basis as private finance, where debt and income are related. Against the proposal of Mr. Dawes it was urged that it was impossible to find a suitable ratio and that a limit based upon the value of real estate was better because of its certainty, and because its value is an index of a community's income—that "personal property and persons make real estate value."

the 5 per cent limit, of 15 per cent of the value of taxable real property for the financing of public utilities only ⁴⁴

Contrary to the conditions in the conventions of 1862 and 1870 the opposition to the proposed restrictions of 1920 came mostly from the northern part of the state. The north or up-state sections, especially Chicago, were for raising the debt limit and making more lenient provisions in regard to indebtedness incurred for the acquisition of public utilities. In general, the debates showed a conviction on the part of the delegates that there was need for some limitation on the power of municipalities to incur debts. It was also felt that the existing limitation was too low and too rigid but, since down state was not objecting strenuously to the 5 per cent limitation, it was undoubtedly felt that by making special provision for Chicago, the needs of the remainder of the state could be cared for by working over the old system.

The municipal debt provisions were taken from the Legislative Article of the 1870 Constitution and placed in the Article entitled "Revenue and Finance." The section setting limits on local indebtedness (corresponding to Article IX, Section 12, of the 1870 Constitution) provided that

No county, town, or school district shall become indebted in the aggregate including its existing debt to an amount exceeding five per cent, and no municipal corporation to an amount exceeding six per cent, of the value of the taxable property therein as ascertained by the last assessment for state and county taxes previous to incurring the debt. The corporate body incurring any such debt before or at the time of doing so shall provide for the collection of a direct annual tax sufficient to pay the interest on the debt and to pay the principal thereof in substantially equal annual installments within twenty years. But provision may be made before or at the time of incurring the debt for the payment of any part of it before maturity. This section shall not apply to or within the County of Cook ⁴⁵

While the new section did not differ greatly from the provisions of the old in principle, there were certain differences in content that are worthy of note. The first of these differences

⁴⁴*Journal*, pp. 317-9. This proposal was primarily for the benefit of Chicago. It was also proposed to allow Chicago an increase in its limit of 10 per cent of full value of taxable property every ten years in addition to the original limit.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 897-8. Sec. 156, art. VII.

was that in the rejected section Cook County was specifically excepted from the general provisions. As previously stated, this was due to the fact that the greater part of the opposition to the old 5 per cent limitation came from Chicago.

A second difference was the differentiation between districts and local units of government. In the existing limitation no differentiation is made between "county, city, township, or other municipal corporation," and each of them is allowed to contract debts up to 5 per cent of the assessed value.⁴⁶ In the 1920-22 draft the debts of counties, towns, and school districts were to be limited to 5 per cent, while municipal corporations were given a limit of 6 per cent.

A third and interesting change in the proposed section was the provision that required the corporate body incurring the debt to levy a direct annual tax "sufficient to pay the interest on the debt and to pay the principal *in substantially equal annual installments within twenty years*." The 1870 section provided only that the tax be "sufficient to pay the interest on such debt, as it falls due, and also to pay and discharge the principal thereof within twenty years." The provision reflects a knowledge in the convention of the history and defects of sinking-fund bonds in public finance. Certain of the delegates expressed themselves rather definitely in favor of a constitutional provision prohibiting sinking funds and in favor of a provision making mandatory the issuance of serial bonds.⁴⁷ While the section did not specify that only serial bonds could be issued, it certainly lent encouragement to the use of that type of bond. Serial issues would insure municipal authorities that bonds would be available for redemption "in substantially equal annual installments."

Since Chicago was dissatisfied with the old limitation, and the convention recognized Chicago's need of a more lenient limitation than was placed upon other cities of the state, it submitted the following provisions in the final draft of the proposed constitution:

(Sec 189) After any consolidation authorized by this article has taken effect the city of Chicago may become indebted in the aggregate up to seven per cent of the full value of the taxable real property therein as ascertained by

⁴⁶For decisions of the Supreme Court on this point, see p. 42.

⁴⁷*Proceedings*, I, 401-2, 428-31.

the last assessment for state and county taxes previous to incurring of the debt. In computing such aggregate there shall be included the existing indebtedness of the city and also the city's proportionate share (determined according to valuation of taxable real property) of the existing indebtedness of all municipal corporations within and partly without the city.⁴⁸

(Sec. 190) Neither the county of Cook or any city, town, school district or other corporation in the county shall become indebted in the aggregate including its existing debt to an amount exceeding *seven per cent* of the value of the taxable real property therein as ascertained by the last assessment for state and county taxes previous to incurring the debt. The corporate body incurring any such debt, before or at the time of so doing, shall provide for the collection of a direct annual tax sufficient to pay the interest on the debt and to pay the principal thereof in equal annual installments within twenty years. But provision may be made at the time of incurring the debt for the payment of it before maturity.⁴⁹

The important change proposed in Section 189 was the provision placing the limit at *7 per cent of the full value of taxable real property*. It would have prevented the overlapping of debt incurring bodies and thus the debt limit for the area of Chicago after consolidation would have been seven per cent of the full value of real estate. It also provided a method of determining the city's share of the indebtedness of all municipal corporations, partly within and partly without the territorial limits of the city. The 1904 amendment had left this to the legislature to prescribe. The other provisions in Sections 189 and 190 were substantially the same as the section applying to other cities of the state.

Another innovation as far as Illinois is concerned was the exemption of debts for public utility income producing properties from the general limitations of Sections 189 and 190. It was provided that "the city of Chicago may issue bonds (in addition to any debt otherwise permitted by this constitution) for the purpose of acquiring, leasing, constructing or operating income producing property for supplying transportation or water."⁵⁰ The city was also required to levy an annual tax sufficient to pay interest and principal within forty years but it was further provided that four months before time of collection of the tax the city was to deposit with the city treasurer, out of gross earn-

⁴⁸*Journal*, p. 902.

⁴⁹*Ibid*.

⁵⁰*Ibid*, p. 903. Sec. 192, art. VIII.

ings or rentals a sum equal to the tax, the money to be used for payment of principal and interest and to the extent that such funds were deposited prior to the collection of the tax it was not to be collected ⁵¹ The city was also to maintain charges and rates sufficient to pay interest and principal and all expense involved in or incidental to the ownership, operation, or maintenance of such utility ⁵² To protect the taxpayer, he was given the right to enforce the provisions by circuit court proceedings, and for the purpose of enforcing the provisions, the court was given all necessary powers including power to regulate the service supplied by the utility No such bonds were to be issued without the approval, at an election, of a majority of those voting on the question ⁵³ Publicly owned income-producing property of the city used for transportation was to be taxed in the same manner as privately owned property used for the same purpose ⁵⁴ Thus even though the public utility bonds were secured by the taxing power, there was a clear appreciation of the diversity of interests of taxpayers and consumers, as is indicated by the provision for payment of interest and principal from gross earnings, and the maintenance of rates sufficient to pay interest and principal and expenses including taxes

It is repeated that the proposals of 1920 offered nothing new in the matter of constitutional restrictions upon municipal debts. The defeat of the proposed constitution left the provisions as they were in 1870 with the amendments of 1890 and 1904 The present constitutional provisions then relative to the indebtedness of the municipalities of Illinois are those of over a half century ago, and they may be summarized as follows:

1. A limitation of the debt of any municipal corporation to 5 per cent of the assessed value of taxable property
- 2 The provision for an annual direct tax sufficient to pay interest and principal within twenty years
- 3 Municipal debts are not to be assumed by the state

⁵¹*Ibid*

⁵²*Ibid*

⁵³*Ibid*, Sec. 193

⁵⁴*Ibid*

- 4 Private property is not liable to be taken and sold to pay corporate indebtedness, but the general assembly may require the levy of a uniform tax for its payment.
5. Municipalities may not lend their credit, or become subscribers to the stock of a private corporation.

These limitations apply to all local units of the state including those of Cook County

CHAPTER II

JUDICIAL INTERPRETATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL RESTRICTIONS

The constitutional restrictions and provisions pertaining to municipal indebtedness, the historical development of which was traced in the preceding chapter, have been the subject of much litigation. Without examining the interpretations placed upon them by the Supreme Court of Illinois and the federal courts,¹ it is impossible to grasp their full import. In its long line of decisions the Supreme Court has given most of the provisions a clear and concise meaning, and, as a basis for its interpretations, it has consistently followed the policies of resorting to the intention of the framers of the constitution² and of adopting the "natural signification of terms."

It is not necessary to consider here the decisions in reference to Section 20 of Article IV³ and Section 10 of Article IX.⁴ The

¹Only a few cases pertinent to this study have reached the federal courts. Hereafter when the terms "Supreme Court" and "the court" are used, they will refer to the Supreme Court of Illinois.

²In *Beardstown v. Virginia*, 76 Ill. 34 (1875) the court held that "in the construction of constitutional provisions and statutes, the question is not what was the intention of the framers, but what is the meaning of the words they have used. A constitution does not derive its force from the convention which framed it, but from the people who ratified it, and the intent to be arrived at is that of the people, and this is found only in the words of the text." In spite of this position, however, in the cases cited in this chapter, the court time after time referred to the intention of the framers of the constitution.

³For text of this section, see above, p. 17. This provision was meant to prohibit the legislature from making any appropriation to pay the debts of any corporation, association, or individual, or to pledge the credit of the state for the payment of such debts, or in aid of any corporation, association, or individual. *People v. Hesse*, 257 Ill. 443 (1913).

⁴For text of the provision, see above, p. 18. This section forbids the legislature to impose taxes upon a municipality for local or corporate purposes without the consent of the corporate authorities or taxpayers affected. *Board of Trustees v. Board Com'rs Lincoln Park*, 282 Ill. 348 (1918), *Morgan v. Schusselle*, 228 Ill. 106 (1907). But the legislature may compel a municipal corporation to perform any duty which relates to the general welfare and security of the state although the performance of duty will result in taxation or create a

original meaning of those sections is obvious, and the few decisions which have been handed down in regard to them have not modified their evident meaning. For that reason, attention is given to only those cases which have arisen under Separate Section 2, and Section 12 of Article IX.

SEPARATE SECTION 2

It will be recalled that Separate Section 2, which was voted on separately, in order not to jeopardize the success at the polls of the remainder of the constitution, prohibited municipalities from subscribing to the capital stock, and from making donations or lending their credit in aid of railroads or any other private corporations.⁶ This section has been before the courts a number of times, but most of the litigation is of merely historical interest.⁶ It has been definitely established, however, that do-

debt to be paid by taxation. *People v Co of Wilhamson*, 286 Ill 44 (1919), *C M and St P Ry Co v Co of Lake*, 287 Ill 337 (1919). The legislature may also cause levy to be made by State Auditor for payment of a lawful municipal debt. *Decker v Hughes*, 68 Ill 33 (1873).

⁶See above, p 16.

⁶One of the first questions to arise was the question as to the time the section went into effect. Section 12 of the schedule of the constitution provided that if that part of the constitution which was not voted on separately received a majority of the votes cast, it was to be the supreme law of Illinois on and after Monday, the eighth day of August, 1870. The election was held July 2, 1870. As for the separate sections, the schedule merely provided that those receiving a majority vote were to become a part of the constitution. The courts have held that whatever might have been the fate of the new constitution, the Separate Section 2 became *ipso facto* and *eo instanti* a part of the organic law of the state on July 2, 1870. This opinion was held in the following cases: *Schall v Bowman*, 62 Ill 321 (1872), *Richeson v People*, 115 Ill 450 (1886), *Jackson Co v Brush*, 77 Ill 59 (1875), *Middleport v Aetna Life Ins Co*, 82 Ill 562 (1876), *Wright v Bishop*, 88 Ill 302 (1878), *Wade v Walnut*, 105 U S 1 (1881), *People v Bishop*, 111 Ill 124 (1884), *Wade v Town of LaMoille*, 112 Ill 79 (1884), *Concord v Portsmouth Sav Bank*, 92 U S 625 (1875), *Moultrie Co v Rockingham roc Sav Bank*, 92 U S 631 (1875), *Randolph Co v Post*, 93 U S 502 (1876), *Fairfield v Gallatin Co*, 100 U S 47 (1879), *Loussville v Sav Bank*, 104 U S 469 (1881), *Aroma v Auditor*, 15 Fed 843 (1883), *Concord v Robinson*, 121 U S 165 (1887), *Casey v People*, 132 Ill 546 (1890), *Richards v Donagho*, 66 Ill 73 (1872), *Williams v People*, 132 Ill 574 (1890).

nations to private corporations or subscriptions to their capital stock authorized on⁷ or after⁸ July 2, 1870, are void

Inserted in the section however, was the provision known as the saving-clause which expressly exempted subscriptions authorized by a vote of the people, "under existing laws,"⁹ prior to the adoption of the separate section. While the clause did not specifically mention donations, the Supreme Court early held the provision applicable to them as well as subscriptions,¹⁰ asserting that if reason or necessity existed for the protection of subscriptions so authorized, the same reason or necessity existed for the protection of donations which were authorized before the adoption of the section. Thus, unless protected by the saving-clause, "donations to private corporations are prohibited under all circumstances,"¹¹ and likewise are prohibited subscriptions to the capital stock of such corporations. Since July 2, 1870, municipal bonds issued in aid of private corporations are *prima facie* invalid, and the burden of proof rests upon the party asserting their validity.¹² Such aid may be given only when previously legally authorized by a vote of the people.¹³

⁷*Wade v Walnut*, 105 U S 1 (1881), *Louisville v Sav Bank*, 104 U S 469 (1881), *People v Bishop*, 111 Ill 124 (1884)

⁸*Schall v Bowman*, 62 Ill 321 (1872), *Richards v Donagho*, 66 Ill 73 (1872), *Wade v Town of LaMoille*, 112 Ill 79 (1884), *Casey v People*, 132 Ill 546 (1890), *People v Bishop*, 111 Ill 124 (1884)

⁹"Existing laws" were laws in force at the time the vote was taken. *People v Supervisors Jackson Co*, 92 Ill 441 (1879), *Post v Pulaski Co*, 47 Fed 282 (1891), *Williams v People*, 132 Ill 574 (1890). The phrase "existing laws" did not refer to laws existing at the time of the adoption of the constitution as was held in *Jonesboro v C and E St L Ry Co*, 110 U S 192 (1884).

¹⁰*C and I R R Co v Pinckney*, 74 Ill 277 (1874), *People v Bishop*, 111 Ill 124 (1884), *Moultrie Co v Fairfield*, 105 U S 370 (1881), *Enfield v Jordan*, 119 U S 680 (1887).

¹¹*Concord v Portsmouth Sav Bank*, 92 U S 625 (1875).

¹²*Prairie v Lloyd*, 97 Ill 179 (1881), *Wright v Bishop*, 88 Ill 302 (1878), *Williams v People*, 132 Ill 574 (1890), *Post v Pulaski Co*, 47 Fed 282 (1891).

¹³*People v Supervisors Logan Co*, 63 Ill 374 (1872), *Decker v Hughes*, 68 Ill 33 (1873), *Quincy M and P RR Co, v Morris*, 84 Ill 410 (1877), *Williams v People*, 132 Ill 574 (1890), *Fairfield v Gallatin Co*, 100 U S 47 (1879), *Louisville v Sav Bank*, 104 U S 469 (1881), *Quincy v Cooke*, 107 U S 549 (1882), *Enfield v Jordan*, 119 U S 680 (1887).

WHAT CONSTITUTES A DEBT?

Most of the litigation arising from Section 12 of Article IX¹⁴ of the Constitution has involved the question of what constitutes a debt. The constitution merely provides that municipal bodies shall not become indebted to an amount exceeding 5 per cent of the value of taxable property. The meaning of the words "become indebted" is somewhat equivocal, for notwithstanding the fact that there are some forms of indebtedness which are clearly obligations of the municipality, there are other transactions and financial operations about which there is not that certainty. The Supreme Court has often been called upon for its opinion in regard to those transactions, about which there was some degree of doubt as to their being debts in the meaning of the constitution, and it very early set up definite standards to which it has closely adhered.

Assignment of Taxes

The first important case which the court had the opportunity to review after the adoption of the constitution was that of *Springfield v Edwards* (84 Ill 626, 1877), a suit by a taxpayer to enjoin the city from incurring indebtedness beyond the constitutional limit. It was admitted that at no time since the adoption of the constitution had the indebtedness of the city been under the limit set by that instrument, and yet it was issuing tax warrants and bonds for temporary loans.¹⁵ The city contended that liabilities within the limits of the revenue accruing to meet them were not debts, and that temporary loans were not debts when within the limits of the revenue expected to be realized. Decisions in other states¹⁶ were cited to support its position that "revenues may be appropriated in anticipation of their receipt,

¹⁴This section quoted in full on p. 15.

¹⁵Since 1871 the debt had not been less than \$850,000, nor the taxable property more than \$6,000,000. The city issued \$97,680 in warrants and \$37,000 of bonds for temporary loans when the interest on the outstanding debt was \$70,000 per year and the general tax revenues were \$81,066.25.

¹⁶*City of Davenport et al*, 36 Ia 396, *People v Pacheco*, 7 Cal 175, *Kopekus v State Capitol Com'rs*, 16 Cal 253, *State v McAuley*, 15 Cal 455, *State v Medberry et al*, 7 Ohio St 522, *State v Mayor*, La. An. 358.

as effectually as when actually in the treasury, that the appropriation of moneys when received meets the services as they are rendered, thus discharging the liabilities as they arise, or rather anticipating and preventing their existence." The court upheld the latter contention of the city concerning revenues appropriated in "anticipation of their receipt," but with the modifications set forth in the following opinion

Appropriations may be made or warrants drawn upon the treasury in anticipation of taxes to be thereafter collected, provided the tax, at the time of appropriation, be actually levied, and the legal effect of the contract between the corporation and the individual, made at the time of the appropriation, be such that it shall operate to prevent any liability to accrue on the contract against the corporation. Where a fund is provided to meet the same, the appropriation or warrant creates no liability, but one thing is simply exchanged for another

Thus it was definitely decided at an early date, and it has often been reiterated,¹⁷ that anticipation tax warrants do not create a debt if the tax be levied at the time the warrants are issued, and the contract provides for their payment only out of that particular levy and fund. While such warrants would not come within the scope of the 5 per cent limitation because they are not contracts,¹⁸ nor debts, but "one thing is simply exchanged for another," neither would an agreement to transfer so much of a tax, already levied, as will pay for labor hired or materials purchased, "and if the agreement is not so expressed in terms, the law will imply one to that effect."¹⁹

It has been held further that tax warrants cannot lawfully be drawn against a tax levy the amount of which cannot be ascertained at the time.²⁰ It is evident that there cannot be an

¹⁷*Law v People*, 87 Ill 385 (1877), *Culbertson v Fulton*, 127 Ill 30 (1888), *Prince v Quincey*, 105 Ill 138 (1887), *Chicago v McDonald*, 176 Ill 404 (1898), *East Moline v Pope*, 224 Ill 386 (1906), *Booth v Opel*, 244 Ill 317 (1910), *People v C and T RR Co*, 223 Ill 448 (1906), *Fuller v Heath*, 89 Ill 296 (1878), *Brauns v Peoria*, 82 Ill 11 (1876), *Sullivan v Highway Com'rs*, 114 Ill 262 (1885), *Howell v Peoria*, 90 Ill 104 (1878), *Stone v Chicago*, 207 Ill 492 (1904), *Goshen Highway Com'rs v Jackson*, 165 Ill 23 (1887), *Fuller v Chicago*, 89 Ill 282 (1878)

¹⁸*Booth v Opel*, 244 Ill 317 (1910)

¹⁹*Law v People*, 87 Ill 385 (1877)

²⁰*Hodges v Crowley*, 186 Ill 311 (1900). In this case the court declared warrants illegal which were issued under the "High Water Road" tax law of

assignment of a certain amount of revenue when the amount of the revenue which is going to accrue is an unknown quantity. An arrangement to issue certificates to be paid in annual installments over a period of years out of a tax levied for that purpose, and the amount of the certificates and the amount of the levy to be based on the assessed valuation of the year preceding, would render the 5 per cent limit of practically no effect. Taxes can be levied only annually, and thus tax warrants cannot be issued against a revenue to be realized ten or twenty years later, and still be issued against a tax "already levied."

Debts for Current Expenses

In the Springfield case and succeeding cases,²¹ the constitution has been construed to include in the limitation debts incurred for current expenses and temporary indebtedness. The court's position was made explicit when it rendered its opinion that "the prohibition is against becoming indebted—that is, voluntarily incurring a legal liability to pay, 'in any manner or for any purpose' when a given amount of indebtedness has previously been incurred."²² Thus, Section 12 of Article IX has been given an extremely literal interpretation, to the effect that, if there is not an assignment of revenues from taxes already levied,

1899 (*Laws of 1899*, p. 130). The act provided among other things for the levying of a $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent tax to be levied for a period not to exceed ten years for the purpose of raising and repairing roads in inundated places. Under the act the aggregate of the ten annual levies was to be made on a basis of the assessed valuation of property for the year preceding, and the county was given permission to draw warrants on the whole amount. The court declared the act unconstitutional on the grounds that the value of property might possibly decrease during the ten year period and thus it would be impossible to make an assignment of a certain amount of revenue when that amount might not be realized. The act was an attempt to evade the limitation by calling what were in effect serial bonds, tax warrants.

²¹*Prince v. Quincy*, 105 Ill. 138 (1887), *Culbertson v. Fulton*, 127 Ill. 30 (1888), *Chicago v. McDonald*, 176 Ill. 404 (1898), *Fuller v. Chicago*, 89 Ill. 282 (1878), *Howell v. Peoria*, 90 Ill. 104 (1878).

²²One dissenting member, Mr. Justice Dickey, offered his construction, interpreting the section to refer to funded debts only, for the reason that only for a funded debt would it be congruous to require the levying of a direct annual tax to discharge the debt within twenty years. His contention is further strengthened by the fact that the discussion in the convention of 1869-70 was concerned only with funded indebtedness.

which has been construed as merely "an exchange of one thing for another," and there is any liability of the corporation "which would be payable at all events,"²³ that obligation creates a debt within the meaning of the constitution, "and it makes no difference under what guise the attempt is made or what form the proceeding takes."²⁴ Furthermore, if certificates of indebtedness for temporary loans are issued and it is the intention that they be paid out of taxes levied for the current year, but the certificates do not so state, they constitute a debt of the corporation.²⁵

The court, adhering to this strict and literal construction, has rendered a number of decisions declaring that certain specific types of transactions were or were not debts of municipal corporations. Where there is on hand in certain funds from which payment for goods or services is to be made, an amount of cash equal to the contract price, or "it is inferable from the ordinance and contract" that the amount is on hand, there is no indebtedness incurred.²⁶ A contract to pay for an article a specified number of days after delivery is a debt,²⁷ and likewise an indebtedness is created when there is a contract to pay in orders on a certain fund, "when collected."²⁸ The latter contract differs from anticipation warrants in that they constitute a payment, while in the contract just mentioned, payment is to be

²³*Law v People*, 87 Ill 385 (1877)

²⁴*People v C and A RR Co*, 253 Ill 191 (1912)

²⁵*Law v People*, 87 Ill 385 (1877)

²⁶*Schnell v Rock Island*, 232 Ill 89 (1908). In 1905 the city entered into a contract to purchase a pumping engine, payment to be made out of water works contingent fund of 1903, water works construction surplus fund of 1905, and water works surplus fund of 1904. It was inferable from the ordinance and contract that there was in these funds an amount of cash equal to the purchase price, and the court held that there was not an indebtedness created by the contract.

²⁷*Ibid*. In 1906 the debt of the city had reached the limit. The mayor contracted to borrow \$2,500 to buy a hook and ladder truck, the city to pay \$1,960 within thirty days after delivery of the truck. It was held that the contract created a debt at the time it was made, and being in excess of the constitutional limit was void.

²⁸*Ibid*. Rock Island contracted in 1906 to add to the water works. The contract provided that the city would pay in orders on the water works fund for the year 1906, when the amount was collected.

deferred until the fund is collected, when payment will be made by orders on that fund

The constitutional prohibition has further been construed to include within its meaning that

A debt payable in the future, or payable upon a contingency, or the happening of some event, such as the rendering of services or the delivery of property, as well as a debt payable presently and absolutely, is within the constitutional prohibition relating to the incurring of debts by municipal corporations, and it makes no difference whether the debt be for current expenses or for something else ²⁹

This construction has been applied to contracts by a city to pay in monthly installments for water supply,³⁰ street lights and lighting,³¹ and the removal of garbage.³² Such a contract by a corporation which has already exhausted its borrowing power is illegal, although the monthly installment and ordinary expenses of the corporation are within its current revenues.³³ The purpose of the debt has been excluded from consideration, and the court adhered to the decisions in *Springfield v Edwards* and *Law v. People*, upholding its strict construction in those cases of the phrase "in any manner or for any purpose," asserting that "to construe the constitution to permit the city to become indebted for supplies to meet ordinary wants and necessities would be to add a provision to the constitution which the framers of

²⁹*Springfield v Edwards*, 84 Ill 626 (1877), *Chicago v McDonald*, 176 Ill 404 (1898)

³⁰*Prince v Quincy*, 105 Ill 138 (1887)

³¹*E St L v E St L G L and C Co*, 98 Ill 415 (1881), *Schnell v Rock Island*, 232 Ill 385 (1877), *Chicago v Galpin*, 183 Ill 399 (1899)

³²*Chicago v McDonald*, 176 Ill 404 (1898)

³³*Prince v Quincy*, 105 Ill 138 (1887) Prince contracted with the city of Quincy to furnish the city with water for fires and other purposes for \$2,600 per year, payable in monthly installments. There was also an annual charge for each fire hydrant, the rate depending upon the number installed. The terms of the contract were mutually observed for a number of years when the city declined to observe further its provisions, contending that the contract was illegal since it had reached the constitutional limit at the time of making the contract and had continued to be so indebted. Prince contended that the sums which he sought to recover pertained to the ordinary expenses of the city in the administration of its affairs and government, and that those sums together with other ordinary expenses of the city were, at the time of making the contract, within the current revenues of the city

that instrument did not see fit to insert "³⁴ Thus, a municipal corporation which has reached the constitutional limit of indebtedness must conduct its business on a cash basis on the "pay-as-you-go-plan",³⁵ a contract with an electric corporation to furnish lights for a fixed sum monthly creates an indebtedness and is void ³⁶

It has been held, however, that

if, at the time of making a contract, extending over a period of years and calling for periodical payments, the city is not indebted beyond the constitutional limit, the total amount of indebtedness entailed by the contract is not the test of the validity of the whole contract, and if the contract is divisible it may be enforced to the extent of the difference between the existing municipal indebtedness and an amount equal to the constitutional limitation ³⁷

In the East St. Louis case the city had contracted in 1880 for the furnishing of street lamps and gas for street lighting, the bill to be paid in monthly installments over a period of thirty years. The city contended that the contract was void because the total debt under the contract would have brought the aggregate municipal debt to an amount in excess of the 5 per cent limit.³⁸ In its opinion just quoted, the court did not so hold, and since it might appear that this opinion modified *Springfield v. Edwards* and *Law v. People*, which cases prohibited in a general way the incurring of indebtedness for current expenses when the debt limit had been reached, the reasoning on this point is quoted at some length

The contract was for the furnishing of an article for nightly consumption by the city during a period of thirty years, fixing the price at which the article should be furnished. There was no indebtedness in advance of anything being furnished, but indebtedness arose as gas should have been furnished along from night to night during the period of thirty years. The contract provides for the payment, monthly, at the end of each month, the amount that became due for the month then ended. When the company has furnished the gas for a

³⁴*Ibid*

³⁵*Schnell v. Rock Island*, 232 Ill. 89 (1908), *Prince v. Quincy*, 105 Ill. 138 (1887); *Board Sup'rs White Co. v. People*, 222 Ill. 9 (1906)

³⁶*Schnell v. Rock Island*, 232 Ill. 89 (1908)

³⁷*E. St. L. v. E. St. L. G. and C. Co.*, 98 Ill. 415 (1881), *Carlyle v. Water Co.*, 140 Ill. 445 (1892), *Chicago v. McDonald*, 176 Ill. 404 (1898)

³⁸The city contended that it was in debt within \$20,000 of the limit at the time the contract was made, and that the total obligation in 1880 under the contract was \$211,200. The annual obligation was \$7,040 for thirty years

certain month, then there is a liability,—an indebtedness arises—and not before

Thus, the city became indebted at the end of each month for the gas used during that month only, and the amounts that *might* have become due in future years did not constitute a liability of the city at the time it entered into the contract. If the corporation has already exhausted its constitutional power to incur debts the first monthly installment, therefore, is a debt in excess of the limit, and the whole contract is void.³⁹ In the East St. Louis case the constitutional limit had not been reached,⁴⁰ and there was an attempt on the part of the city, by counting the entire contract as a test of the validity of the contract *en toto*, "to add that which was illegal to that which was legal, in order to defeat the whole contract."⁴¹ That part which is legal in such a case is an amount equal to the difference between the aggregate debt of the municipality at the time of entering into the contract, and the amount authorized by the constitution.⁴²

Funded Debt

In deciding what constitutes a debt within the meaning of the constitution, the Supreme Court has consistently held that where the general credit of the corporation is involved, there is a debt, although the intention is otherwise.⁴³ If a city attempts to

³⁹*Chicago v McDonald*, 176 Ill. 404 (1898), *Schnell v Rock Island*, 232 Ill. 89 (1908)

⁴⁰The same principle was involved in *Carlyle v Water Co*, 140 Ill. 445 (1892). The city lacked \$12,000 of exhausting its power to incur debts and the contract for water was enforceable to that extent.

⁴¹*Chicago v McDonald*, 176 Ill. 404 (1898)

⁴²*B and O S W RR Co v People*, 200 Ill. 541 (1903), *Wabash Ry Co v People*, 202 Ill. 9 (1903), *Culbertson v Fulton*, 127 Ill. 30 (1888). In the former case it was held that a contract to purchase an electric light plant for the sum of \$13,000, payable in annual installments of \$1,000 for thirteen years, was an indebtedness to the full amount called for by the contract, and to the extent that such amount together with prior indebtedness exceeded the 5 per cent limit, the contract was null and void.

⁴³It cannot be sustained that bonds issued for improvements and payable by taxation are not debts on the assumption that the whole city is to be regarded as a single district benefited by the improvement in which all property is benefited in an equal ratio equivalent to the tax levy. Taxes are levied

acquire an extension to its water system by issuing certificates of indebtedness, and only the extension and its income are pledged, there is no indebtedness incurred, but if the whole system and its income are pledged there is a debt created ⁴⁴ There would be no difference in effect in pledging the income and property of the whole system in such a case, and pledging the city building or any other municipal property, since part of the water system was already property of the city ⁴⁵

Even if the certificates are payable out of a special fund, such as a water fund, there is an indebtedness incurred if the fund is an existing, established income belonging to the city and which it thereby loses to pay the obligations, all debts are payable out of some fund even though that fund may not be segregated from the general funds ⁴⁶ Bonds to be paid out of a sinking fund or a special fund to be created partly by the net income of property acquired through their issue, and partly by levying a special tax for a certain period of years, create an indebtedness for the reason that if the net income of the property is insufficient, the city can be required to satisfy the bondholders with the proceeds

against personal property and are collected from individual owners, while benefits are chargeable only to real estate and must be collected from the property *People v C and A RR Co*, 253 Ill 191 (1912)

⁴⁴*Joliet v Alexander*, 194 Ill 457 (1902) In 1901 Joliet passed an ordinance for the extension of its water system and the issue of water fund certificates not exceeding \$240,000 under an act of 1899 (*Hurd's Stat*, 1905, p 344) which provided that bonds could be issued for water works against a tax of 1 per cent and the net income of the system All receipts were to be paid into the water fund and only operating expenses were to be paid therefrom The bonds were also secured by a mortgage on the entire system The water system derived an annual income of \$10,000 and the city was in debt over the limit The bonds were declared void and held to be debts in excess of the constitutional limit The facts of the following cases were very similar to *Joliet v Alexander*, *Schnell v Rock Island*, 232 Ill 89 (1908), *East Moline v Pope*, 224 Ill 386 (1906), and *Leonard v City of Metropolis*, 278 Ill 287 (1917) This latter case involved an act of June 26, 1913 (chap 111a, par 1, *Callaghan*) Light and water plant bonds secured by all of the income of the plant and its extensions were declared debts of the corporation, and void if in excess of the limit

⁴⁵*Joliet v Alexander*, 194 Ill 457 (1902)

⁴⁶*Ibid*, *East Moline v Pope*, 224 Ill 386 (1906), *People v C and A RR Co*, 253 Ill 191 (1912)

of the tax ⁴⁷ "If it were otherwise, the legislature could authorize the issuance of bonds for any proper municipal purpose in any amount, to be paid out of a tax levied for the special purpose of paying them, and thereby render nugatory the constitutional provision limiting municipal indebtedness" ⁴⁸

It has been held, furthermore, that the mere name of the bonds (e g , "water bonds"), does not change the obligation of the corporation, even if the purpose was that the property be self-sustaining, since to exempt them from the prohibition would be equivalent to saying that Section 12 of Article IX was meaningless ⁴⁹

The court has definitely stated that the constitutional restriction does not apply to purchase money mortgages which are payable wholly out of the income of the property purchased or by resort to such property, ⁵⁰ since the purpose of the prohibition in the constitution was to avoid the recurrence of those conditions which at one time threatened the financial stability of the state, and caused a limitation to be placed upon state indebtedness in the constitution of 1848 Such bonds can have no effect on the financial stability of municipalities because they are not a lien on taxes nor property of the corporation, other than that purchased from their issue

The application of the principle of special assessments has been denied to bonds payable out of a special fund ⁵¹ There is this difference between bonds payable out of a special fund and special assessment bonds, the special assessment fund does not belong to the municipality and the bonds are not a liability of that body ⁵² Special assessment bond holders must look for payment to the property benefited by the improvement and not to the municipal corporation The special assessment fund is created from special assessments and thus warrants payable out

⁴⁷*East Moline v Pope* See n 44 above

⁴⁸*Ibid*

⁴⁹*Chicago v McDonald*, 176 Ill 404 (1898) The city of Chicago issued water bonds and it was the intention that they be paid from the income from the water system The certificates did not so state, however, and they were the unqualified obligation of the city

⁵⁰*Joliet v Alexander*, *East Moline v Pope*

⁵¹*Joliet v Alexander*

⁵²*Ibid*

of that fund do not have to be included in the indebtedness of a municipal corporation.⁵³ The constitutional limitation is against becoming indebted for "general corporate purposes," and has no reference whatever to local improvements,⁵⁴ the only limit to special assessments being that the assessments must not exceed the benefits.⁵⁵

The interpretation of the constitutional limitation to include those obligations of the corporation which, unlike purchase money mortgages, may be paid from some other source than the income from the acquired property or by resort to that property itself, has been applied to street railway certificates⁵⁶ issued under the Mueller Law.⁵⁷ Section 2 of that law provided among other things that in the issuing of bonds for the acquisition of street railways, "any mortgage or deed of trust may carry the grant of a privilege or right to maintain and operate the street railway property covered thereby, for a period not exceeding twenty years from and after the date such property may come into the possession of any person or corporation as the result of foreclosure proceedings." The act thus authorized the pledging of the right to use the streets for street railways. It was held that such a right was property of the city, and that to pledge that right created a liability of the corporation, rendering the street railway certificates therefor an indebtedness within the scope of the constitutional limitation. If the right to use the streets had not been pledged the certificates would have been purchase money mortgages and would not have constituted a debt within the meaning of Section 12, Article IX.

There have been attempts to evade the debt limitation by issuing certificates which especially precluded the holder from

⁵³*Jacksonville Ry Co v Jacksonville*, 114 Ill 562 (1885)

⁵⁴*Mix v Ross*, 57 Ill 121 (1870), *Kilgour v Drainage Com'rs*, 111 Ill 342 (1884), *People v Honeywell*, 258 Ill 319 (1913), *Jacksonville Ry Co v Jacksonville*, 114 Ill 562 (1885)

⁵⁵*People v Honeywell*

⁵⁶*Laddell v Chicago*, 227 Ill 218 (1907). The city issued the certificates in accordance with the Mueller Law and made them payable out of the income of the street railway system so acquired. The certificates were additionally secured by a mortgage on the system and a pledge of the right to use the streets. The city's indebtedness had already reached the limit and the certificates were declared debts in excess of the constitutional limit and void.

⁵⁷*Laws of 1903*, p. 287

bringing an action against the municipality.⁶⁸ The Supreme Court, however, has held that a right of action is not essential for the existence of a debt where tangible property and its income are pledged to secure payment.⁶⁹ This position is in accord with the common conception of the obligations of a sovereign government—the state has liabilities but the creditor has no right of action against the state. Where there is a provision for a mortgage there is a debt implied, because a mortgage cannot exist without a debt,⁷⁰ and “where one party occupies the position of creditor and another of debtor, there is in the common understanding, a debt.”⁷¹ Furthermore, “it is not essential that the obligation to pay should be direct.”⁷²

The constitutional limitation applies, moreover, to “every species of indebtedness beyond the limit, whether inchoate or completely consummated.”⁷³ If a municipal body issues bonds after it has previously legally voted, but not issued, other bonds sufficient to bring the total debt to the constitutional limit, those bonds are void. In deciding this point reference was made to the provision of Separate Section 2⁶⁴ of the constitution, where such inchoate indebtedness is expressly exempted from the limitation of Section 12 of Article IX. The intention of the

⁶⁸*Loddell v Chicago*. The street railway certificates especially precluded the holder from a right of action. In *Joliet v Alexander*, 194 Ill. 457 (1902), it was set up by the city that the water certificates were payable only out of the water fund, the property of the system and its income, and not out of general funds, the only effect of the mortgage being to insure sufficient earnings.

⁶⁹*Loddell v Chicago, Joliet v Alexander*

⁷⁰*Joliet v Alexander*. The mortgage on the entire system secured the bonds issued for an extension. See n. 44 above.

⁷¹*Ibid*

⁷²*Evans v Holman*, 244 Ill. 596 (1910). In this case the city was within \$4,200 of the debt limit. To buy a water plant costing \$11,496, it issued \$4,200 in bonds as direct obligations of the city. The owners issued bonds for the balance of \$7,296. The city, after acquiring the plant, proceeded to levy taxes to pay principal and interest on the combined bond issues. The court enjoined taxes for all bonds over \$4,200, and held all bonds void if paid out of anything but the income of the plant. It was wholly an attempt to evade the limitation. The city tried to establish the \$7,296 of obligations as not its indebtedness since it had not promised to pay them, but it was held that the obligation to pay need not be direct to constitute an indebtedness.

⁷³*Law v People*, 87 Ill. 385 (1877)

⁷⁴P. 16

framers of the constitution was to exempt those bonds which had been legally voted to aid in the construction of railroads,⁶⁵ but had not been issued, and if Section 12 had not been intended to apply to debts not completely consummated, Separate Section 2 would not have been inserted.⁶⁶

Interest, Judgments, Gross and Net Indebtedness

It has been held that accrued interest,⁶⁷ but not accruing interest,⁶⁸ is to be counted as indebtedness. The court adhered to the doctrine as stated in *McQuillan on Municipal Corporations*⁶⁹ that "interest is not a debt, within the meaning of debt limit provisions, until it is earned and becomes due, and in determining whether an indebtedness will be created in excess of the debt limit, unearned interest cannot be added to the principal. The authority granted by the constitution or statute to contract a debt refers to the amount of the debt at the date at which it is created and has no reference to the amounts of interest which accrue thereafter."

Judgments have also been held to be debts⁷⁰ in the meaning of the constitution. But, in an action by an injured party to recover damages in tort, a city cannot set up a defense that its indebtedness has already reached the limit.⁷¹

In the calculation of the indebtedness of any municipal corporation the Supreme Court has held, moreover, that cash in the treasury does not reduce the amount of the debt, nor do uncollected taxes in the course of collection reduce the floating debt until they are actually collected and applied to its reduction.⁷² Thus, the limitation applies to gross, and not net indebtedness.

⁶⁵*Ibid*

⁶⁶*Law v People*

⁶⁷*Stone v Chicago*, 207 Ill. 492 (1904), *Goodwine v Co of Vermilion*, 271 Ill. 126 (1915)

⁶⁸*Goodwine v Co of Vermilion*. Vermilion County was issuing bonds for roads and bridges to the amount of \$1,500,000. The assessed valuation of property was \$36,402,538, and thus the debt limit was \$1,820,000. Goodwine contended that if accruing interest be added (during twenty years this would be \$570,000), the amount would exceed the debt limit by approximately \$250,000. Affirmed *Blanchard v Benton*, 109 A. 569 (1903)

⁶⁹Vol. 5, sec. 2224

⁷⁰*Chicago v McDonald*, 176 Ill. 404 (1898)

⁷¹*Bloomington v Perdue*, 99 Ill. 329 (1881)

⁷²*Chicago v McDonald*

VALUE OF PROPERTY

The constitutional limitation on municipal indebtedness, it will be recalled, does not specify what value of property is to serve as the base of the limitation, but merely provides that indebtedness shall not exceed "five per centum on the value of the taxable property therein, to be ascertained by the last assessment for State and County taxes " In a very few decisions the Supreme Court has given a concise definition to the word value, but only after it had reversed one of its own decisions It has held that the limit is 5 per cent of the "taxable value" of property,⁷³ that is, not the actual but the assessed value⁷⁴ The assessed valuation to be used in the calculation of the limit is that ascertained by the last (and complete)⁷⁵ assessment for state and county taxes previous to the incurring of an indebtedness⁷⁶ Furthermore, it is the equalized valuation made by the State Board of Equalization,⁷⁷ and not that as equalized by the local board⁷⁸

OVER-LAPPING DEBT INCURRING BODIES

The General Assembly has the power to create any conceivable kind of corporation for the more efficient administration of public affairs, and it can endow such corporation and its officers with such "powers and functions as it deems necessary and proper for the administration of its corporate affairs "⁷⁹ The corporation must be organized for a single purpose,⁸⁰ but two corporations may be run by the same officers⁸¹ Moreover, the creation of two or more corporations partly within, and partly without the same territory, cannot be said to violate the consti-

⁷³*People v Hamill*, 134 Ill 666 (1888)

⁷⁴*City of Chicago v Fishburn*, 189 Ill 367 (1901)

⁷⁵*Wabash Ry Co v People*, 202 Ill 9 (1903)

⁷⁶*Culbertson v Fulton*, 127 Ill 30 (1888), *People v Hamill*

⁷⁷Abolished in 1919 Its duties have been taken over by the State Tax Commission

⁷⁸*Culbertson v Fulton*, *Wabash Ry Co v People* These cases overruled *People v Hamill* which made assessment by the local board the basis of calculation of the debt limit

⁷⁹*People v Bowman*, 247 Ill 276 (1910)

⁸⁰*People v Nibble*, 150 Ill 269 (1894), *People v Bowman*

⁸¹*Perkins v Com's Cook Co*, 271 Ill 449 (1916)

tutional principle of uniformity as long as taxes levied by each corporation are uniform as to persons and property within its jurisdiction ⁸²

Since the legislature is empowered to create over-lapping municipal corporations and endow them with all necessary powers for the administration of public affairs, including the power to incur debts, the question whether the 5 per cent limitation applies to each corporation taken singly, or is an aggregate limitation, becomes of paramount importance. The limitation has been construed as applying to each corporation and not as setting an aggregate limit upon the debts of corporations covering the same or partly the same geographical area. Where one corporation embraces in part the same territory as others, each may contract indebtedness up to the constitutional limit without reference to any other corporation embraced wholly or in part within its territory ⁸³. But the legislature cannot, for example, by multiplying the boards of education in a given territory, authorize the district to incur indebtedness beyond the constitutional limit ⁸⁴. That is, a mere division of administrative duties will be construed as an attempt to circumvent the constitutional restriction, but, continuing the same illustration, if a high school district is organized within a regularly organized school district, it will be empowered to contract debts up to the 5 per cent limit.

PROVISION FOR COLLECTION OF DIRECT ANNUAL TAX

The constitution requires that a municipal corporation shall before or at the time of incurring an indebtedness provide for the collection of a direct annual tax sufficient to pay the interest when due and discharge the principal within twenty years ⁸⁵. Under this provision two important questions have arisen which

⁸²*Highway Com'rs v Bloomington*, 253 Ill. 164 (1912), *Beard v People*, 83 Ill. 387 (1876).

⁸³*People v Honeywell*, 258 Ill. 319 (1913), *Wilson v Board of Trustees*, 133 Ill. 443 (1890).

⁸⁴*Russell v High School Board*, 212 Ill. 327 (1904).

⁸⁵Sec. 12, art. IX. This provision does not apply to a debt contracted under authority lawfully conferred by a vote of the people before the adoption of the constitution. *Board of Education v Bolton*, 104 Ill. 222 (1882).

are significant to the purpose of this study Is the provision for the collection of a direct annual tax imperative for all types of indebtedness? Is such a tax to be levied once for all, before, or at the time of incurring the debt?

The Supreme Court has in several decisions consistently construed the provision to refer only to those debts which bear interest and mature in the future at a fixed date,⁸⁶ and in regard to contracts to pay in monthly installments for the furnishing of some commodity (e g , water), "unless an indebtedness in excess of five per cent of the taxable property of a city has been created, no provision for levying an annual tax is necessary "⁸⁷ In the case of such a contract when the debt limit has been reached, the tax would have to be levied or the contract would be void, and if the tax is levied, the contract does not constitute a debt in the meaning of the constitution

The question of whether the tax was to be levied once for all, before, or at the time of incurring the debt, did not come before the Supreme Court until 1905, when there was an attempt to have a bond issue declared illegal because a tax was not levied at the time the debt was incurred for the full period the bonds were to run ⁸⁸ The Court carefully pointed out that the section does not require the *levy* of a tax, but only requires that "*provision* shall be made for the collection of a direct annual tax " Since the value of property for taxation is ascertained annually, until such valuation is made, a levy, in the proper sense of that term, cannot be made or a rate of taxation fixed, i e., a levy cannot be made now on the value of property twenty years hence, when that value is unknown The constitution "is sufficiently complied with when provision is made for an annual tax, for the reason that the section uses the words "a direct annual tax,"⁸⁹ but the obligation created by the section is not fully met by providing, when the debt is incurred, for the levy and collection of the necessary tax—it requires as well the actual

⁸⁶*Kankakee v McGrew*, 178 Ill 74 (1899), *Danville v Water Co*, 180 Ill 235 (1899), *B and O S W RR Co v People*, 200 Ill 541 (1903), *Coles Co v Goehring*, 209 Ill 142 (1904)

⁸⁷*Carlyle v Water Co*, 140 Ill 453 (1892)

⁸⁸*Pettibone v W Ch Park Com'rs*, 215 Ill 304 (1905)

⁸⁹*Ibid*

levy and collection, when needed, to pay the debt⁸⁰ That is, the actual levy is to be made when it is needed—when the interest and principal or parts thereof mature⁸¹

This requirement of the constitution has further been construed to mean that the provision made for the levy and collection of the tax must be such that it will impose a legal obligation upon the municipality to pay the debt, so that the corporation may be compelled by mandamus to make the required levy⁸² The section secures to the bondholder the right to compel the levy of the tax in accordance with such provisions,⁸³ and it imposes a legal obligation upon the corporation to provide, before or at the time the debt is created, for its payment by a direct annual tax⁸⁴ If the municipality fails to levy and collect the tax and allows the debt to mature, "the courts will compel it to levy a tax sufficient to pay the same, with the arrears of interest, at once"⁸⁵ If the validity of the tax is then contested, the burden for showing that the tax is invalid rests upon the objector, by showing that provision for a direct annual tax to pay principal and interest was not made, at or before the time of incurring the debt⁸⁶ If such provision has not been made collection of a tax cannot be compelled, for a corporation can only be compelled to levy a tax because the duty exists, and it exists by virtue of the provision, in the ordinance, made when the bonds were issued⁸⁷

PAYMENT WITHIN TWENTY YEARS

The constitutional requirement that provision shall be made it, or before, the time of incurring a debt for the payment of interest and discharge of the principal "within twenty years

⁸⁰*E St Louis v Amy*, 120 U S 600 (1886)

⁸¹*Pettibone v W Chs Park Com'rs*

⁸²*Ibid*

⁸³*People v C B and Q RR Co*, 248 Ill 81 (1910)

⁸⁴*People v Day*, 277 Ill 543 (1917)

⁸⁵*E St Louis v People*, 124 Ill 655 (1888) This section of the constitution repeals a clause of a city charter which provides for the collection of a tax which would not be sufficient to pay the interest and discharge the principal within twenty years

⁸⁶*People v Day*

⁸⁷*Ibid*

from the time of contracting the same"⁹⁸ raises the following questions. Can a bonded indebtedness be incurred, the life of which is to be a period of less than twenty years? Is twenty years the maximum period which a debt can run and continue to be a valid obligation? Does the constitution permit the re-funding of a debt at the date of maturity?

There has been little question of the constitutionality of bonds issued for a period shorter than twenty years. In fact, the question did not come before the court until forty years after the adoption of the constitution. At that time the court definitely took the position that the constitution did not prohibit a municipality from issuing bonds in good faith and for a proper purpose, payable in one year, but that it did prohibit the issuing of bonds for a period of longer than twenty years.⁹⁹ It makes no difference if they are issued for current expenses, the municipality has the option of issuing one year bonds rather than anticipation tax warrants.¹⁰⁰

It was the intention of the framers of the constitution that a limit of twenty years be placed on the life of any indebtedness, and it has been held that it is the duty of municipal authorities to make provision for the retirement of any indebtedness by the end of that period.¹⁰¹ But after the provision for the collection of a tax has been made, the funds derived therefrom may prove insufficient. Taxes levied cannot always be collected, and what may seem to be an adequate provision at the time it is made may yield less than the anticipated amount because of changes in the assessed value of property. Should such provision prove inadequate, or the municipal authorities fail to levy and collect the tax, the obligation to pay the debt still remains, and the corporation can be compelled to pay the same in full, at any time within the statutory period of limitation,¹⁰² the constitutional provision "neither authorizes repudiation, nor affects the making of terms for the payment of existing legal liabilities."¹⁰³

⁹⁸Sec 12, art IX

⁹⁹*People v Bowman*, 253 Ill 234 (1911)

¹⁰⁰*Ibid*

¹⁰¹*Kane v Charleston*, 161 Ill 279 (1896)

¹⁰²*Ibid*, *E St Louis v People*, 124 Ill 655 (1888)

¹⁰³*Hamilton Co v Montpelier Sav Bank*, 157 Fed 19 (1908)

The position that the constitution "puts a limit upon the duration of all indebtedness, or that it requires absolutely all indebtedness to be paid within twenty years," is, therefore, untenable¹⁰⁴ Provision for payment must be made, but that alone doesn't remove the obligation on the municipal corporation if, at the end of twenty years, the debt is still unpaid.

Since a municipality may be compelled to pay an indebtedness which has run longer than the constitutional period, and since under such conditions it may often be more convenient to postpone final payment by refunding than to make payment at once through taxation, the court has been called upon to decide the constitutionality of refunding. The court's interpretation is that the issuing of refunding bonds is not repugnant to the constitutional provision, but that the provision is an indication "that it is against the policy of our laws that municipal corporations should, at their pleasure or convenience," issue and put "upon the market negotiable securities, even though they are issued to refund an outstanding indebtedness of unquestioned validity."¹⁰⁵ The power to refund is not implied by the constitution,¹⁰⁶ and municipalities can obtain that power only from the legislature, the language of the constitution is not an express limitation upon the power of the legislature to empower municipal authorities to refund existing indebtedness by the issue of other bonds at the expiration of the first period.¹⁰⁷ Thus refunding is constitutional only when it has legislative sanction. The General Assembly may confer this power in municipal charters,¹⁰⁸ or by special legislation.¹⁰⁹ But if the bonds are issued under an act which does not permit refunding at the date

¹⁰⁴*Kane v. Charleston*

¹⁰⁵*Coguard v. Oquawka*, 192 Ill. 355 (1901)

¹⁰⁶*Ibid*

¹⁰⁷*Kane v. Charleston*

¹⁰⁸*Quincy v. Warfield*, 25 Ill. 279 (1861). This decision was made before the adoption of the constitution of 1870, but it was quoted with approval in *Coguard v. Oquawka*

¹⁰⁹*Hamilton Co. v. Montpelier Sav. Bank*, 157 Fed. 19 (1908), *Graves v. Sabine Co.*, 161 U.S. 359 (1895), *E. St. Louis v. Maxwell*, 99 Ill. 439 (1881), *Hughes Co. v. Livingston*, 104 Fed. 306 (1900)

of maturity, refunding will not be upheld ¹¹⁰ In general then Section 12 of Article IX is not a prohibition against refunding where that practice has been sanctioned by the legislature. A consideration of the extent to which refunding is permitted, under present laws in Illinois, comes within the province of a later chapter.

THE FIVE PER CENT LIMIT AND TAXATION

As previously indicated, when a municipal corporation has contracted obligations, which in the aggregate amount to 5 per cent of the assessed value of property, it must conduct its affairs on a cash basis—it cannot incur temporary or current indebtedness ¹¹¹ But it occasionally happens that municipalities issue bonds or contract obligations which are illegal, that is, in excess of the constitutional limit, or the limit expressed in their charters ¹¹² When such illegal debts are contracted, neither the corporation nor a taxpayer is estopped to dispute their validity, even though the corporation has levied taxes and the taxpayer has paid taxes to pay interest and principal ¹¹³ The taxpayer, however, may be enjoined from relief if he has exercised an inexcusable delay in asserting his right—he may be enjoined on grounds of “laches” ¹¹⁴ But even then, the municipality has

¹¹⁰*Coguard v Oquawka* Bonds were issued under an act of 1865 which gave cities and counties power to subscribe to the capital stock of corporations and to issue bonds therefor, or in aid of them. The court held that language of the act did not imply continued power to issue and reissue bonds.

¹¹¹See above, pp. 31ff.

¹¹²Section 12 of Article IX does not repeal a clause of a city charter granted prior to the adoption of the constitution, prohibiting the corporation from contracting debts in excess of an amount less than 5 per cent on the value of taxable property. *E. St. Louis v People*, 124 Ill. 660 (1888).

¹¹³*Laffincott v Pana*, 92 Ill. 24 (1879), *Marshall Co v Cook*, 38 Ill. 45 (1865), *Siebbins v Perry Co*, 167 Ill. 567 (1897), *Shaeffer v Bonham*, 95 Ill. 368 (1880).

¹¹⁴*Schnell v Rock Island*, 232 Ill. 89 (1908). In 1872 Rock Island issued \$25,000 of bonds in excess of the limit, and the bonds were consequently void. The holding of the court was that the delay was unreasonable (from 1872 to 1907), and therefore the taxpayer had no right to enjoin payment, although the city had the right to default.

the right to refuse to pay, ¹¹⁵ and repudiation will be upheld ¹¹⁶ A debt in excess of the constitutional limit cannot be collected, ¹¹⁷ nor can money be recovered back under express or implied promises of the corporation to pay ¹¹⁸ Furthermore, a municipal corporation cannot be held liable in tort for refusal to pay an indebtedness which is alleged to be in violation of the constitution ¹¹⁹

It has been held in regard to taxation and the debt limit that a tax levied to pay an indebtedness, which exceeds the power of the corporation to incur debts, may be enjoined as unconstitutional ¹²⁰ Where a tax is levied to pay an obligation, only part of which is excessive, only that part of the tax which is to pay the interest and principal in excess of the constitutional limit may be enjoined ¹²¹ In any case, the lender or creditor is bound to ascertain at his peril whether the corporation has not already reached its limit, and if the debt limit has been reached, he cannot enforce payment. ¹²²

It is well established, moreover, that the constitutional provision limiting the indebtedness of municipal corporations is no limitation on their powers of taxation, ¹²³ such limitation being wholly statutory ¹²⁴ If a municipality is indebted to the limit, it may still levy taxes for current expenses and meet such expenses by issuing anticipation warrants, as the levying of a tax is not the incurring of an indebtedness ¹²⁵ It may levy taxes for

¹¹⁵*Schnell v Rock Island*

¹¹⁶*City of E St Louis v Freels*, 36 Ill App 339 (1885) Repudiation was upheld in case of indebtedness for attorney's salary when city was in debt to the limit

¹¹⁷*Prince v Quincy*, 105 Ill 138 (1887)

¹¹⁸*Litchfield v Ballou*, 114 U S 190 (1885)

¹¹⁹*Prince v Quincy*, 105 Ill 138 (1887)

¹²⁰*Howell v Peoria*, 90 Ill 104 (1878), *Law v People*, 87 Ill 388 (1877)

¹²¹*Culbertson v Fulton*, 127 Ill 30 (1888), *B and O S W RR Co v People*, 200 Ill 541 (1903)

¹²²*Law v People*, 87 Ill 388 (1877)

¹²³*People v I C RR Co*, 309 Ill 277 (1923), *E Mohne v Pope*, 224 Ill 386 (1906), *People v C and A RR Co*, 253 Ill 191 (1912), *Schnell v Rock Island*, 232 Ill 89 (1908)

¹²⁴*People v I C RR Co*, 309 Ill 277 (1923)

¹²⁵*Ibid* A community high school district was indebted beyond the limit It levied taxes as follows building purposes, \$10,000, and educational pur-

any lawful corporate purpose within the law governing such municipalities¹²⁶

While the constitutional limitation on municipal indebtedness does not constitute a limitation on taxation, the latter being statutory, conversely, the legislature has no power to establish any limitation on the rate of taxation that will nullify the constitutional debt provisions¹²⁷ That is, regardless of the limit the legislature places on the rate of taxation, the amount required to pay the principal and interest on bonded indebtedness "must be extended and collected without reduction "

poses, \$18,000 Of these taxes the railroad claimed that about \$3,000 was sufficient for current building and that \$10,000 was sufficient for educational purposes It contested the validity of the taxes on the grounds that the excess revenues were to be used to pay interest on bonds in excess of the constitutional limit The court held that the rate of taxation was not limited by the debt limitation, and that "a tax levy for building purposes may properly include the amount necessary to pay interest on school building bonds, which interest will be due before another tax can be levied and collected " The court would not permit the railroad to prove the invalidity of the bonds, asserting that such proof would not have affected the validity of the levies for either purpose, since the record did not show the levy unauthorized, without regard to the question whether the bonds were valid or not Where a school district about to erect a school building can issue bonds for only part of the cost without exceeding the debt limit, it cannot issue warrants for the balance, and a tax levied to pay warrants issued for that purpose is invalid *People v T P and W RR Co*, 229 Ill 327 (1907)

A school district which has issued bonds to build a school-house for an amount within less than \$100 of the 5 per cent limit may nevertheless levy a tax for building purposes until a sufficient amount is raised to complete the building *People v Martin*, 283 Ill 380 (1918), *People v C and T RR Co*, 223 Ill 448 (1906)

¹²⁶*People v C and T RR Co*, 223 Ill 448 (1906), *People v C and A. RR Co*, 253 Ill 191 (1912)

¹²⁷*People v Hoerr*, 294 Ill 338 (1920), *Booth v Opel*, 224 Ill 317 (1910), *D D and E RR Co v People*, 116 Ill 401 (1886) In *People v Hoerr* the limitation on the rate of county taxation was involved The constitution limits the rate of taxation for counties to 75c on \$100 valuation (sec 8, art IX) An amendment in 1919 of sections 25 and 27 of the Revenue law (*Laws of 1919*, p 741) limited the total rate for county purposes, in the absence of a vote of the people authorizing an additional tax, to 50c on \$100 valuation The court held that the bond tax could be increased over the 50c rate up to 75c on \$100 valuation This reduction of the tax rate was in connection with the legislation of 1919 which raised the assessed valuation from one-third to one-half the real value

CHAPTER III

AN ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL RESTRICTIONS

After having portrayed the historical development of the restrictions upon municipal indebtedness and given them definitiveness by reviewing the courts' interpretation of their equivocal meaning, it is now the purpose to examine their efficacy, from an economic point of view, in coping with the problems upon which they touch.

The provision that the state shall not assume the liabilities of any municipality, and the prohibition of municipal aid to private enterprise, are provisions which are sound in purpose. Not only is the state interested in the patrimony of a single community, but the credit of all localities in the state is mutual, in that defaulting by other municipalities impairs the salability of the bonds of any one corporation. In regard to the prohibition of public aid to private industry, it may be said that the period of scarcity of private capital is past, and the conditions which prompted the provision in the constitution no longer exist. The future, of course, is uncertain, and the only question that may be raised is the advisability of a rigid constitutional provision of that nature.

The general provision that the legislature shall require private property to be taxed, but not taken nor sold, for the payment of corporate debts, lays down the policy that municipal debts should be paid. It is sufficiently general to permit legislative treatment of varying conditions and so no fault is found with it.

For these reasons the following analysis is concerned with Section 12 of Article IX of the Constitution. That section, it has been shown, limits the amount of indebtedness regardless of the purpose, and requires provision for taxation to discharge the obligation within twenty years. Thus, it touches upon the fundamental economic aspects of public borrowing, namely, the amount, purpose, term and source of payment. As a limitation on the amount of indebtedness attention is first directed to its intimate relation to the system of taxation.

I. RELATION TO SYSTEM OF TAXATION

Property Not Assessed Uniformly

The unfortunate intimate relationship between the scheme of debt limitation and the system of taxation is most clearly evidenced by the effects of prevailing assessment practices. It is not the purpose to review the defects of the general property tax, but since the administration of that tax has a particularly important bearing upon the present inquiry, certain of its aspects are deserving of more than passing notice.

The general underassessment of property and the existing lack of uniformity of the ratio of assessed to true value, among the different districts of the state, are common knowledge. In the constitutional convention of 1870 it was generally agreed that, although there was not uniformity, property was usually assessed at about one-fifth of its fair cash value. One of the arguments advanced at that time in favor of the provision placing a limit upon local indebtedness was that the desire to increase borrowing power would increase the basis of assessment to more nearly the true value.¹ In 1898 the State Board of Equalization and subsequently, 1919, the State Tax Commission were established to bring about uniformity in the basis of assessment among the various counties of the state. Table I, however, gives evidence to the truth that these anticipations have not been realized.

Thus, only seven of the sixteen cities *attempted* to assess real property at one-half its true value, while three cities assessed real property at 40 per cent, three at 30 per cent, and two cities even as low as 25 per cent of the cash value. In the case of personal property the basis of assessment in ten cities was 50 per cent, in two cities, 40 per cent, in two, 30 per cent, in one, 25, and one city admitted even of a 20 per cent basis.

While the purpose of quoting the above figures is not to reveal the actual ratio of assessed to cash value, they do indicate an absence of uniformity. Consequently, instead of having a definite limitation upon local indebtedness, the State of Illinois has a fixed percentage of an extremely variable base as the limit to which its municipalities may borrow. In those cases where

¹*Debates*, I, 840

TABLE I
REPORTED BASIS OF ASSESSMENT IN CITIES OVER 30,000 FOR
THE YEAR 1925*

<i>City</i>	<i>Real Property</i>	<i>Personal Property</i>	<i>Other Property</i>
Aurora	50	50	50
Chicago	35	25	50
Cicero	40	40	50
Danville	50	50	50
Decatur	50	50	50
East St. Louis	50	50	50
Elgin	50	50	50
Evanston	40	20	50
Joliet	25	50	50
Moline	30	30	50
Oak Park	25	50	50
Peoria	50	50	50
Quincy	50	50	50
Rockford	40	40	50
Rock Island	30	30	50
Springfield	30	50	50

*Taken from *Financial Statistics of Cities, 1925* (Department of Commerce)

property is underassessed, the debt limit is consequently reduced. Furthermore, if one city uses the legal ratio of assessed to cash value in order to obtain its maximum borrowing power, it is penalized by being burdened with more than its share of taxes for state purposes, for the state tax is apportioned among the local units on the basis of their assessed value of property. In these respects the efficiency of the constitutional debt limitation is adversely affected by defective assessment administration.

Evasion

It was pointed out in the preceding chapter that several attempted methods of evasion were declared illegal. The Supreme Court's definition of the term "debt" included street railway certificates issued under the Mueller Law, and water certificates issued under special acts of the legislature because they pledged wealth or income already belonging to the municipality. Anticipation tax warrants were counted debts unless issued against taxes already levied, and hence evasion may not be accomplished by issuing tax warrants payable from taxes to be levied at some future time. Likewise evasion may not be accomplished by issuing certificates which expressly preclude the holder from a right

of action. It was further shown that a municipality may not evade the debt limitation by purchasing encumbered private property, for the reason that the obligations of the private concern become public indebtedness. Nevertheless, there are two other avenues of evasion left open. One method, the creation of independent municipal corporations, is largely a direct result of the system of taxation, and the other method, that of raising the assessed value of property, is closely allied with that system.

1. Over-lapping municipal corporations. The constitutional requirement for the uniformity of taxation in respect to persons and property² is a potent factor in bringing about a multiplicity of separate corporations. Improvements may be undertaken, the benefits from which will accrue to territory not coterminous with the city corporation, in which case there is only one avenue of escape from taxing the whole city for an improvement which benefits only a particular section, and that is by organizing a new district which may tax only the benefited area. In other cases special districts are created because of the debt limitation. Thus, Decatur in 1914 had power to incur approximately \$200,000 additional indebtedness. The farmers below Decatur filed a petition with the Rivers and Lakes Commission for abatement of a nuisance to stop further pollution of the Sangamon river by city sewage. The commission ordered the city to build a sewage plant costing about \$900,000 or nearly twice the constitutional debt limit of the city and over four times its remaining debt incurring power. The result was "An act to create sanitary districts and to provide for sewage disposal."³ In 1925 this sanitary district had a debt burden on the taxpayers of Decatur of a little over 3 per cent of the assessed value of property. But regardless of the purpose for which special municipal corporations may be created, the result is a modification of the effect of the constitutional debt restriction.

In this study only the school, park, sanitary, and township high school districts, in addition to the city or village corporation, are considered. Since each of these corporations, with the exception of the high school district, may contract indebtedness up to the constitutional limit of 5 per cent, without respect to

²*Constitution of 1870*, art. IX, sec. 9.

³*Laws of 1917*, p. 396.

the debts of the other districts, their significance is by no means negligible. The township high school districts may incur obligations aggregating only three-fourths of 5 per cent of the assessed value.⁴ Considering these five districts alone it is possible for a community to have a municipal indebtedness *per se* of 23.75 per cent of the assessed value of its property. It is little wonder that the anticipations of the framers of the constitution, that the desire to increase borrowing power would raise the basis of assessment to nearer the true value, have not been realized. The power to create new corporations has greatly negated any influence that desire might have had. Moreover, even if it was the meaning of the convention which framed the provision that the 5 per cent be cumulative,⁵ as the Supreme Court has construed, the debt limit has been greatly increased since 1870 for the reason that park, sanitary, and high school districts have been provided for since that time.⁶ Since the legislature may provide for any conceivable kind of corporation for the more efficient administration of corporate affairs and endow them with equal power to incur debts, it is difficult to foresee how much the effects of the constitutional limitation may be modified in the future. And incidentally, the debt restriction in connection with the constitutional requirement for the uniformity of taxation, by bringing about a variety of municipal corporations, operates as a barrier to that widely heralded political reform, the unification of local governments, which would make for a more economical administration of municipal affairs.

2 By raising assessed valuation. It is sometimes asserted that a percentage limitation permits of evasion by a municipality's raising its assessed valuation of property.⁷ There is no way of ascertaining the extent to which this has been done, but it is doubtful if the practice is and has been as prevalent as is often supposed. A study of the assessed values of twenty-four cities from 1915 to 1925 reveals a steady rate of increase in the

⁴*Laws of 1905*, p. 374.

⁵See discussion on this point on p. 42.

⁶Pleasure Driveway and Park Districts, 1893, Township High School Districts, 1905, and Sanitary Districts, 1917.

⁷See Horace Secrist, *An Economic Analysis of Constitutional Restrictions upon Public Indebtedness*, University of Wisconsin Bulletin No. 637 (1914), p. 90.

taxable value of property in the case of each city.⁸ There is no indication that assessments were deliberately inflated to increase the debt limit. In fact there are three possible checks to such a procedure. (1) The method of apportioning the state tax among the various localities of the state on the basis of their assessed valuations operates to cause the locality employing this method of evasion to bear a larger tax burden for state purposes. (2) One of the functions of the State Tax Commission is to equalize assessments among the various counties of the state, and while such equalization has not been accomplished, it is possible that an attempt to increase the borrowing power by this subterfuge might be circumvented by that body. By making the assessed value that as equalized by the State Board, the Supreme Court has enhanced the effectiveness of the constitutional limitation. (3) A further check is the fact that the tax levying authorities are not the same as the assessing body. The tax spending and tax paying sentiments come together before the assessing officials and tend to neutralize each other. Thus, for the assessed valuation to be raised by a single municipality in order to increase its debt limit, there must be a willingness on the part of tax payers to bear a larger burden of state taxes, together with close cooperation between the assessing authorities and the spending departments, and the increased valuation must be sanctioned by the State Tax Commission.

While there is little chance of a single municipality accomplishing evasion by inflating its taxable values, the legislature has modified the effect of the debt limitation by changing the legal basis of assessment. The general underassessment of property was legally recognized in 1898 when assessed values were made one-fifth the full value, and in 1909, the ratio was raised to one-third where it remained until 1919, when assessed value was made one-half the appraised value.⁹ The legislature again changed the basis of assessment in 1928 in order to increase the bonding power of municipal corporations in Chicago and Cook

⁸See Appendix A for assessed values of twenty-four cities from 1915 to 1925.

⁹*Laws of 1898*, Extra Session, p. 43, *Laws of 1909*, pp. 328-9, *Laws of 1919*, pp. 727-8.

County ¹⁰ The assessed value was made the full value, but the legislation did not increase the borrowing power of municipalities outside of Cook County, for their debt limit was fixed at 2 5 per cent of the assessed value ¹¹ Thus, by this method the General Assembly has raised the debt limit of Chicago and its independent corporations 400 per cent since 1898, and of the other municipal corporations of the state 150 per cent Consequently, while the valuation of a particular municipality is not likely to be raised to increase its borrowing power, the raising of the basis of assessment by the legislature raises the debt limit, while at the same time maintaining the *status quo* among the various taxing districts in regard to taxes for state purposes But this action of the General Assembly, with the exception of the 1928 legislation, has granted increased power to incur debts to *all* municipalities of the state, whether they needed it or not And this presents the question of the desirability of making a percentage of assessed valuations a criterion of the needs of a municipality for borrowed funds

Assessed Values and the Needs of a Particular Municipality

It was shown in Chapter I that the object of the framers of the constitution, in inserting the provision limiting the indebtedness of local units, was to check the increase in tax burdens resulting from municipal borrowing at that time in aid of private capital But in the method adopted to attain that end they made assessed values a barometer of the need for improvements, and an index of the advisability of employing public credit Before a municipality resorts to the use of its credit there are three questions which should be answered in the affirmative Is there a need for the improvement? Does the community have the ability to pay? Is borrowing desirable economically? It is the purpose in the following paragraphs to inquire into the efficacy of the percentage limitation in view of these considerations

¹⁰This act was passed in February, 1928, during a special session of the legislature A similar law was declared unconstitutional in 1927 on the purely technical grounds of two subjects, taxation and borrowing, being treated under a single title

¹¹All counties of less than 500,000 population and cities and other municipal corporations of less than 300,000 population have a 2½ per cent debt limit

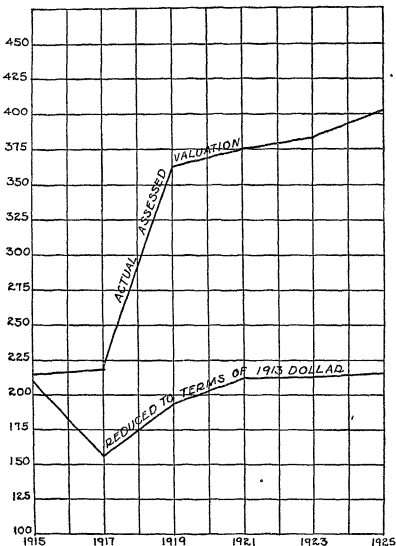
1 The need of improvements The constitutional limitation is a restriction on the *amount* of indebtedness which may be incurred, and it was intended to serve for all municipalities in the state and over a period of years. The unsatisfactory character of property assessment has already been indicated, but assuming that taxable values bore a known and uniform ratio to true values throughout the state, it is evident that an arbitrarily chosen percentage of those values would be a poor index of the necessity of improvements. A community's need of improvements depends upon its age, its population, the stage it has reached in its cultural and economic advancement, its geographic environment, the degree of reluctance and timidity of private capital in furnishing the population with the utilities for the satisfaction of wants collectively, and any one of a number of complex social and economic conditions which need no elaboration, and which may have little or no relation to property values.

But over a period of years property values become even less satisfactory as an index of the need of capital outlays. Municipal corporations, in addition to being governmental agencies, are business units. In this latter capacity they exist for the purpose of supplying utilities for the collective satisfaction of the wants of the population, and their functions are to be limited only by an unfavorable comparison of service with costs. The number and extent of these wants are constantly growing, more and more wants are being shifted from the private to the public category, and an increasing amount of private income is being spent by public agencies. Consequently, no one standard of corporate needs can serve for all times. There is no definite ratio of private to public income.

The immediately preceding paragraphs have given some indication of the complexity of the variable conditions which determine the necessity of capital outlays on the part of municipal corporations, and render property values meaningless as an index of public necessities. But taxable values are likewise defective when account is taken of changes in the price level over a period of years. Since a municipality will have to borrow more during years of a high price level than in years of a low level of prices to acquire the same improvements, it is important that the power to borrow increase simultaneously with this increased demand for funds, if the borrowing power is to be equably meas-

GRAPH I

GROWTH OF ASSESSED VALUATION OF PROPERTY OF TWENTY-FOUR CITIES FOR ALTERNATE YEARS, 1915 TO 1925 (IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS) *



*See Appendix A, p 105, for numerical statement of property valuations for each city

ured from one period to another. An examination of Graph I will show the undesirability in this respect of the present method of computing the debt limit. From 1915 to 1925 the assessed valuation of property of twenty-four cities having a population of over 15,000 increased 87.43 per cent. But this was only slightly more than the advance in the price level which, if the 1913 price level be counted as 100, was 103 in 1915 and 186 in 1925.¹² Or, by reducing the assessed values to terms of the 1913 dollar, there was an increase of only 3.79 per cent from 1915 to 1925. Moreover, in these terms the valuation of property for purposes of taxation was less in 1917 and 1919 than in 1915, and in 1919 the basis of assessment was raised from one-third to one-half. Thus the legislation of 1919 resulted in little more than to bring assessed valuations in pace with a depreciating dollar, and that result was not attained in that year. Had it not been for that legislation, and the same rate of increase in assessed values had continued, the actual borrowing power of the municipalities of the state would have suffered a further decline, since the price index rose from 140 in 1917 to 186 in 1919, where it was in 1925. It is not insisted that municipal borrowing on a large scale should be sanctioned at the peak of high prices, for the reason that falling prices may follow and the burden of the obligation would then be increased. But since one factor in determining the amount of capital outlays, and therefore indebtedness, is the price level, it would seem important that the *trend* of prices be considered.

2. Ability to pay. The creditor is interested in the capacity of the municipality to liquidate the debt at maturity, and likewise is the state, for a portion of its patrimony is that of the debtor. It has already been indicated that the overlapping municipal corporations are not treated as having identical patrimonies. Two cities, for example, may have equal assessed valuations of property, but if the patrimony of one is divided with four additional municipal corporations which are already indebted to the limit, while that of the other city is shared with

¹²The price index used here and elsewhere in this study is the index of general prices compiled by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York and found on p. 38 in the *Annual Statistical Bulletin*, 1927, published by Standard Statistics Co., N. Y.

only a school district, it is difficult to justify the granting of equal borrowing power to the two city corporations

The present limitation, moreover, by relating the power to incur debts to taxable values, excludes from consideration the various forms of public wealth, and institutional property such as churches and hospitals, which are indicative of a community's ability to pay. A city may own income-bearing wealth such as street railways, water, gas, and electric light and power systems, and yet not be able to borrow as much as it could if the same plants were privately owned. In 1922 Springfield was the only city in the state of over 15,000 population which owned a light and power plant for commercial purposes.¹³ It was in the somewhat anomalous position of having its borrowing power impaired because of owning property, and to that extent it was not placed on a parity with other cities.

Those forms of wealth owned by the corporation and which are not income producing are also important in public credit. A city may have large investments in improved streets, school buildings, parks and playgrounds, sewage disposal plants, etc., and yet not be able to borrow any more than some other city having the same assessed value of property, but which has been slow in developing these improvements. It may be argued that the effect of such investments is to increase the value of property and thus the borrowing power. But while the element of truth in this argument can not be denied, there is a far more direct relationship between these investments and public credit. The credit of the corporation rests largely upon the taxing power, since it is by far its most important source of income, and the extent to which this power is exercised depends upon the willingness of the people to pay taxes. The presence of large investments in these forms of capital indicates a progressive citizenship and one which is willing to bear tax burdens.

Those forms of non-taxable wealth not owned by the municipality, such as churches, hospitals, and educational institutions, are important in indicating the character of citizenship which is a significant element in municipal credit. Moreover, in some instances a public institution lends economic stability to a com-

¹³Carl D. Thompson, *Municipal Electric Light and Power Plants* (1922), pp. 240-1.

munity The presence of the University of Illinois gives Urbana and Champaign an element of economic stability which will not be found in a mining community, for example, where the patrimony of the corporation is likely to become exhausted at any moment It would seem that in authorizing the contracting of debts, public wealth is deserving of attention in the same way that a bond house takes account of it in determining the price of municipal bonds It will expect a higher yield on the securities issued by a community whose willingness to shoulder tax burdens is not evident, and whose economic stability is not certain, and the percentage limitation is defective to the extent that it does not take account of some of those factors which are indicative of the character of the citizenship and the economic life of the community ¹⁴

The lack of uniformity in the method of arriving at assessed values also makes the percentage of taxable values an unsatisfactory index of the capacity of a community to liquidate its indebtedness Two city corporations may have equal assessed valuations, but if one assesses property at 50 per cent and the other at 25 per cent of its true value, it is evident that the assessors' figures are not indicative of the wealth of the two communities It is not meant to infer, however, that property values bear no relation to public credit *Real* increases in taxable values do manifest increased debt paying ability, and in so far as assessed values are representative of true values they are worthy of consideration Furthermore, the creditor must look to the taxing power for payment, unless the obligation is otherwise secured, and municipal revenues come largely from the general property tax But even so, the relationship is indirect Assessed values may bear a high or low ratio to true values, but the extent of taxation will be reflected in the levy This suggests then that the direct relationship is between the annual indebtedness charges and that portion of the municipality's income which is above that needed for current expenditures Furthermore, to uphold the present restriction one must presuppose a fixed ratio

¹⁴See articles by H. E. Weil in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, XXX (1907), 384-95, for an excellent discussion of the political, social, geographical, seismological, and economic factors considered by the underwriter of municipal issues

of public to private income, and further assume that assessed values vary with private income. From what has been said the latter assumption is obviously unwarranted, and it has already been shown that there is a multiplicity of conditions which affect tax burdens and corporate needs and policies, and so no definite ratio can exist between public and private income over a period of time.

3 The desirability of borrowing. There may be sufficient necessity for a given expenditure to justify it and the community may have debt paying ability, but financing it by resort to the public credit is not always to be approved. The present constitutional limitation permits debts for any purpose, except those incurred in giving aid to private enterprise, as long as the aggregate obligations of the municipal corporation do not exceed 5 per cent of the value of taxable property. It considers only the *amount* of indebtedness, and it is the present contention that a limitation on the amount of indebtedness is not a guarantee that the use of municipal credit will not be abused.

It was shown in Chapter I that one of the purposes of inserting the limitation in the constitution was to protect the future tax payers. But the power to borrow can be flagrantly abused when the amount of indebtedness is less than 5 per cent of taxable values.¹⁵ There is always the temptation for public officials to saddle the burden upon the shoulders of future tax payers, due to the general tendency to discount the future, as well as because of political reasons. But one of the ends of debt control should be an equitable distribution of burdens¹⁶ between present and future generations. The total tax contributions of two periods may be equal, but that part of the contributions due to in-

¹⁵Professor M. H. Hunter advances the thought that, from the standpoint of generations, the burden of indebtedness can not be passed on to the future if the bonds are sold within the political unit. The assumption here, however, is that the bonds are sold outside the borrowing municipality and thus it is possible to place the burden of the debt upon future generations. See M. H. Hunter, *Outlines of Public Finance* (1926), p. 408.

¹⁶Tax burdens are to be distinguished from total taxes. The former depend upon the wealth, income, and population of a community, considered with changes in the value of money and the purpose of the expenditure. The latter are important, for if increased taxation is due to an expenditure which was a former private one there is no increase in burden.

debtedness may be unequal, and here is where injustice is likely to appear. It is a question of the relative proportions in which the total contributions of tax payers of different periods are divided between current revenues and payment of indebtedness.¹⁷ There is no permanent standard of these proportions moreover, for they must vary with civic advancement and each new outlay. So, taking the capacity of the municipality to pay for granted, borrowing is desirable when the new indebtedness is that part of an expenditure which could not, and should not, have been added to current taxation. This involves the considerations of the purpose of the debt and the estimated useful life of the acquired property, aspects of the problem which can best be discussed at another point in this chapter, but which have no relation to the assessed valuation of property.

The position taken in the preceding paragraphs may be summarized as follows. Borrowing should be resorted to only when the present taxpayers, with justice to future taxpayers, are willing to contract an indebtedness over and above a burden which can with justice and economic reason be borne by them in the form of taxation at present. No standard can be set up to serve for all times and places to indicate the advisability of employing corporate credit, and the present limitation is unscientific and indefensible because it attempts to do so.

Having pointed out the weaknesses of the limitation due to the relating of the amount of debt with assessed value of property, it is now the purpose to inquire into the effect the restriction has had upon the size of municipal indebtedness.

II GROWTH OF DEBT FROM 1915 TO 1925

Municipal Bond Sales from 1915 to 1925

The years from 1915 to 1925 were unprecedented years in the volume of municipal bonds sold both for Illinois and the country as a whole. From the standpoint of the present inquiry it constitutes a particularly important period because it was one of varying economic conditions, and a study of it will portray the operation of the constitutional debt limitation in the midst of a rising price level. In 1919 the basis of assessment was raised

¹⁷Secrist, *op cit*, p. 87

from one-third to one-half the appraised value, and the effect of that legislation was striking. It is interesting, moreover, to compare the volume of issues by Illinois municipalities with those of the country in general, and the North Central group of states.¹⁸ The only statistical information available is the annual publication of the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, the *State and Municipal Compendium*, and while the data is not all that is to be desired for the purpose of this study, it will give some indication of the results of the debt restriction during this period of large municipal offerings.¹⁹

It is convenient to divide the period into two parts, the periods from 1915 to 1918, and 1919 to 1925. In spite of the floating of foreign loans in this country and the prevailing high interest rates, the increase in the volume of sales really began in 1914, but was still larger in 1915. The *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* cited as causes for the increased municipal offerings the income tax of 1913 and the depression of 1914.²⁰ But the remaining war years were not ones favorable to large municipal issues. In 1916 municipal bond prices rose notwithstanding continued flotations of foreign loans, but on the whole "borrowing was on a more conservative basis."²¹ In 1917 the Federal Government floated the Liberty Loans and offered higher interest rates, and municipal bond sales declined for Illinois and the country as a whole, but were still above the average from 1909 to 1913. In 1918 came the greatest reduction. For the nation as a whole the total number of municipal securities issued were less

¹⁸In the North Central states are included Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas.

¹⁹The *State and Municipal Compendium* does not give complete data since it reports only bond sales of governmental units having an outstanding indebtedness of \$25,000 or more. It also includes in its tabulations the issues of governmental units not included in this study, such as Chicago, drainage and levee districts, townships, and township school districts. Moreover, special assessment bonds are outside the limitation, but these are included in the tabulations. Nevertheless, the debt limit is concerned with all of the local units, and rural districts have small debts. In spite of these necessary qualifications, however, the data does give some indication of the results of the limitation during this period.

²⁰*State and Municipal Compendium*, Vol. 100, p. 3, May, 1915.

²¹*Ibid.*, Vol. 104, p. 7, May, 1917.

than in any previous year since 1907—the year's reduction was more than one-third the prior four years' average²² The War Finance Corporation Act became a law on April 5, 1918, and provision was made for a Capital Issues Committee whose duty it was to determine whether any proposed issue in excess of \$100,000 was "compatible with the national interest" Because of the tax exemption feature of the municipal bonds, this together with high interest rates throughout the year, was no doubt a potent factor in diminishing the amount of municipal offerings By turning to Graph II it will be seen that the annual municipal bond sales of Illinois had suffered a relatively greater decline from 1915 than did those of the North Central states, and in 1918 were below the average of the four years from 1909 to 1913

In 1919 the Capital Issues Committee ceased to function. While the Federal Government floated the Victory Loan its size was smaller than expected, and temporary borrowing by the government was at the comparatively low rates of $4\frac{1}{4}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent²³ For the nation and for the North Central states annual offerings of local bonds reached unprecedented heights, but for Illinois the sales were smaller than in 1918 The failure of Illinois to follow the example of the rest of the country must be attributed partly to the operation of the debt restriction It was previously shown that the assessed value of property did not keep pace with the rising price level, and with this condition on the one hand and increasing costs of improvements on the other, the result was to enhance the effectiveness of the debt restriction In 1919, however, the basis of assessment was raised, and by 1920 the municipal corporations were taking advantage of their increased borrowing power In that year their sales were in excess of \$22,000,000 as compared with approximately \$6,000,000 in 1919, and for the first time since 1916 were relatively higher than those of the North Central states, and relatively considered, again surpassed those of the nation

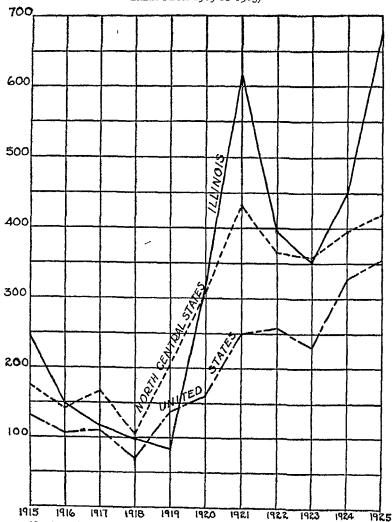
The general situation from 1921 to 1925 was still more favorable to municipal borrowing, and during this period municipal bond sales reached a new and higher level The *Chronicle* summarized the favorable conditions as follows (1) exemption from

²²*Ibid*, Vol 108, p 4, June, 1919

²³*Ibid*, Vol 111, p 4, July, 1920

GRAPH II

ANNUAL MUNICIPAL BOND SALES OF THE UNITED STATES AS A WHOLE, THE
NORTH CENTRAL STATES, AND ILLINOIS FROM 1915 TO 1925
(EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE AVERAGE ANNUAL
SALES FROM 1909 TO 1913) *



*See Appendix E, p 109, for numerical statement

the federal income tax, (2) business depression reduced borrowing at banks and they became buyers of municipals, (3) the United States government stopped borrowing except for refunding purposes, and (4) the general monetary tension ceased.²⁴ The offerings of Illinois municipalities reached \$43,000,000 in 1921 as compared with \$22,000,000 in 1920, and were over six times those of the five year average of 1909 to 1913. The sales for the nation were 250 per cent and those of the North Central states were 433 per cent of their 1909 to 1913 averages. The market continued favorable to municipal borrowing during the next four years. In 1925, however, the Federal Reserve Banks raised their rediscount rates, and trade was more active, which increased the mercantile demand for money, although this was not true of industry in general.²⁵ Nevertheless the issues for the country as a whole, the North Central states, and Illinois, reached the highest point of the eleven year period, and compared with their five year average from 1909 to 1913 were 353, 42, and 681 per cent, respectively.

By referring again to Graph II it will be found that municipal bond issues for Illinois were relatively greater from 1915 to 1925 than were those for the country as a whole in every year except 1919, and were smaller relatively than those for the North Central states in only 1917, 1918, and 1919. As would be expected for a smaller territory, the offerings of Illinois show wider fluctuations throughout the period. But the significant point for the purpose of this study is that under the constitutional restriction the municipalities of Illinois participated in a nation-wide increase of municipal indebtedness to a relatively greater extent than did the whole of the North Central states.²⁶

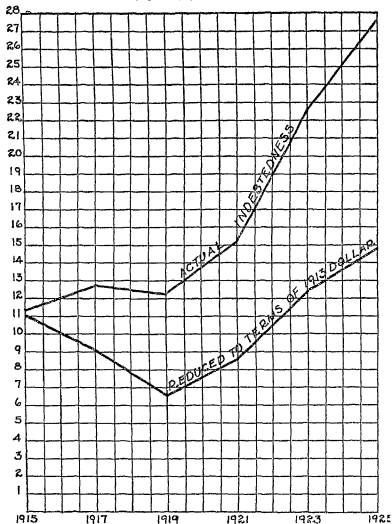
²⁴*Ibid*

²⁵*Ibid*, Vol 122, p 5, June, 1926

²⁶Of this group of states, Iowa, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin have constitutional limits of 5 per cent. The limitation in Missouri is 10 per cent if the population is less than 75,000 and 10 per cent if over 75,000. In Indiana the limit is 2 per cent. Michigan, Ohio, Nebraska, and Kansas do not have constitutional limits.

GRAPH III

GROWTH OF THE FUNDED DEBT OF TWENTY-FOUR CITIES FOR ALTERNATE YEARS FROM 1915 TO 1925 (IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS) *



*See Appendix B, p. 106, for numerical statement of the funded debt of each city

Growth of Funded Debt from 1915 to 1925

A comparison of the growth of the funded debt²⁷ of twenty-four cities of over 15,000 population during the war and post-war period with the changes in the price level, increase in the taxable value of property, tax levies and population, will afford some indication of the burden entailed by the growth of indebtedness of cities of this class, under the present limitation. It would be desirable also to compare their debts with the wealth and income of the communities, but, because of insufficient data, that is impossible.

Graph III shows the growth in the funded debt of the twenty-four cities during the ten year period.²⁸ The actual indebtedness curve reflects a condition that would be expected after an examination of the graphical representation of municipal bond sales on page 66. There was a decline in the indebtedness in 1919 from 1917, and bond sales had declined steadily from 1915 to that year. Then there was a rapid increase in the funded debt after 1919. The amount of outstanding bonds increased from a little over \$11,000,000 in 1915 to nearly \$27,000,000 in 1925, or an increase of 141.49 per cent. Of this increase 75.1 per cent was after 1921, the increase from 1921 to 1925 being 78.58 per cent of the total for 1921. The more rapid growth after 1921 can be accounted for by the unfavorable conditions for marketing bonds during the war period, which have just been outlined, and the high cost of improvements which, in connection with the lag in the assessed valuation of property, made the debt restriction more effective. After 1921 marketing conditions were more fav-

²⁷By funded indebtedness is meant those obligations, exclusive of special assessment debts, which have a fixed date of maturity and run for more than one year.

²⁸The statistical data relative to indebtedness and tax levies include those for the city corporation and the city's share of the debt and tax levies for the school, high school, park, and sanitary districts. Where those districts were not coterminous with the city corporation, the method of the Census Bureau was followed and the city's share computed on the basis of assessed values, i. e., if the city's assessed valuation was 75 per cent of that of the school district, for example, the same proportion of the school district's debt and levy was allotted to the city. If the separate district's valuation was larger by less than 10 per cent, its entire debt and levy were counted. By this method the total debt and taxation for municipal purposes *per se* were ascertained.

orable and the legislation of 1919 gave the municipalities more borrowing power

1 Influence of the price level A consideration which is often neglected in discussions of the rapid increase of municipal debts is the coincident change in the price level. When the dollar depreciates in value it costs cities more to obtain labor and materials for improvements. If the price level doubles, other things remaining the same, it would not be unreasonable to expect a similar increase in the amount of bonds issued. Thus while the nominal or actual debt of the twenty-four cities seems to have increased at an exceedingly rapid pace, the increase appears less significant when the change in the price level is considered. The truth of this statement is evidenced by the deflated indebtedness curve on Graph III. As far as the value of the dollar is concerned, the debt burden was less in the years from 1916 to 1921 than in 1915, and, stated in terms of the 1913 dollar, the total funded debt was only 33.73 per cent higher in 1925 than it was in 1915. In other words during the ten year period there was an annual increase of only about $3\frac{1}{3}$ per cent of the 1915 debt.

2 Funded debt compared with assessed values It has already been shown that the assessed values of this group of cities increased 87.43 per cent during the decade and that the increase was almost entirely due to the legislation of 1919 which raised the legal ratio of assessed to appraised value of property. It will be remembered that the years 1914 and 1915 were years of large municipal issues, the sales for all municipalities in the state being 250 per cent of the yearly average from 1909 to 1913. So when an increase of 87.43 per cent in assessed valuations is compared with an increase of 141.49 per cent in indebtedness, consideration must be given to the fact that the debt of 1925 is expressed as a percentage of a comparatively high base. If it were possible to make a comparison with taxable values and debt in 1913 the difference in the rate of growth would be somewhat greater. The following figures show the change in the ratio of debt to taxable value of property for the twenty-four cities for alternate years during the decade.

1915	5.31%	1921	4.09%
1917	5.87%	1923	5.94%
1919	3.24%	1924	6.85%

TABLE II

FUNDED DEBT OF TWENTY-FOUR CITIES EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF ASSESSED VALUES OF PROPERTY FOR ALTERNATE YEARS, 1915 TO 1925*

City	1915	1917	1919	1921	1923	1925
Alton	1 93	1 04	0 47	2 60	2 74	5 03
Aurora	6 78	8 15	4 78	3 74	5 37	7 65
Belleville	6 39	5 50	5 16	4 06	3 53	2 72
Bloomington	7 55	7 27	4 14	4 19	3 79	3 32
Champaign	6 87	5 21	3 51	3 77	7 47	9 01
Chicago Heights	7 97	8 05	4 55	6 14	10 22	8 38
Danville	3 51	4 24	2 15	2 70	8 14	6 52
Decatur	7 33	9 55	6 59	12 06	12 44	13 42
East St. Louis	9 94	13 07	7 12	7 12	9 96	9 27
Elgin	2 66	2 84	1 53	2 28	3 82	8 08
Evanston	6 15	5 61	3 57	3 33	7 15	11 53
Freeport	5 21	5 07	2 62	2 58	2 52	7 26
Galesburg	2 33	2 00	1 20	1 32	2 02	1 84
Jacksonville	1 98	1 86	3 42	7 35	9 02	9 07
Joliet	4 61	4 41	2 53	4 04	7 57	11 61
Kewanee	2 98	5 10	2 85	4 21	10 51	9 25
Moline	8 13	8 10	4 28	4 38	3 87	3 21
Oak Park	9 10	9 01	5 23	6 71	12 21	13 26
Peoria	4 23	4 71	2 25	2 08	2 90	2 34
Quincy	3 35	4 35	1 38	1 25	1 26	0 88
Rockford	2 55	2 85	1 57	3 26	3 73	4 98
Rock Island	4 18	4 99	2 18	2 55	3 79	3 78
Springfield	5 85	8 48	4 92	3 63	5 70	5 64
Waukegan	10 47	7 97	3 83	9 84	14 32	14 31
Total	5 31	5 87	3 24	4 09	5 94	6 85

*See Appendix A, p 105, for assessed values of each city, and Appendix B, p 106, for funded debt.

Thus, compared to assessed valuations, the debt of 1923 and 1925 surpassed that of 1917 in spite of a higher basis of assessment after 1919.

Table II presents the funded debt of each city expressed as a percentage of taxable values for alternate years from 1915 to 1925. In 1917 there were nine cities having a funded debt of more than seven per cent of their assessed valuations, as compared with thirteen cities in 1925. In 1915 and 1917 there was only one city having a funded indebtedness in excess of 10 per cent, while in 1925 there were five.

In comparing the ratio of funded debt to assessed value of property of one city with that of another, however, it must be remembered that the assessed value does not bear a uniform ratio to true value throughout the various cities of the state. Thus considering the above table in connection with Table I, on page 52, the cities with the high ratio of debt to assessed value

of property may have a low basis of assessment, and vice versa. Rock Island, Springfield, Rockford, and Moline in 1925 had comparatively low percentages of funded debt and they also used a low basis of assessment. Quincy's funded debt was less than 1 per cent and Peoria's a little over 2 per cent of their respective assessed valuations, but property was assessed at the legal ratio of one half the true value. On the other hand attempting to practice the legal basis of assessment Decatur and East St. Louis had comparatively high ratios of debt, while Evanston, Oak Park, and Joliet showed a high percentage of indebtedness but their basis of assessment was low. It is not fair then to designate certain cities as those having large debt burdens on the grounds that their indebtedness appears large in proportion to the assessed value of property, unless the method of arriving at taxable values is known, and then, as already indicated,²⁹ there are other factors to consider.

A significant revelation of the table is the influence of overlapping corporations on the size of the debt. While the constitutional limitation for one corporation was 5 per cent of the taxable value of property, two cities had a debt of a little over 13 per cent in 1915, and Waukegan's debt was over 14 per cent. Waukegan has five municipal corporations but the sanitary district had no debt in 1925.

3 Compared with increase in tax levies. Graph IV shows a steady increase in taxation, except during the two years 1920 and 1921 when the increase was at a greater rate than during any other two years. The raising of the basis of assessment in 1919, and the fact that in that year the price level reached its highest point during the period were no doubt contributing factors. The levies for municipal purposes³⁰ for the group of twenty-four cities increased 153.79 per cent from 1915 to 1925. In terms of the 1913 dollar, however, the increase was only 40.53 per cent or at the annual rate of about 4 per cent of the total levies of the year 1915.

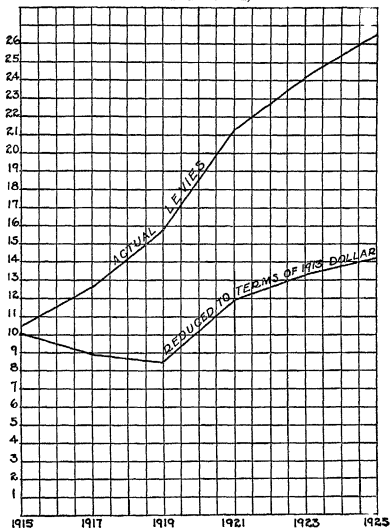
Graph V presents an interesting comparison of the growth in the outstanding debts and tax levies. The levies of course do

²⁹See n. 16 above.

³⁰These levies include the general and all special levies of the city corporation, the levies for school, sanitary, park, and high school districts, and the road and bridge tax.

GRAPH IV

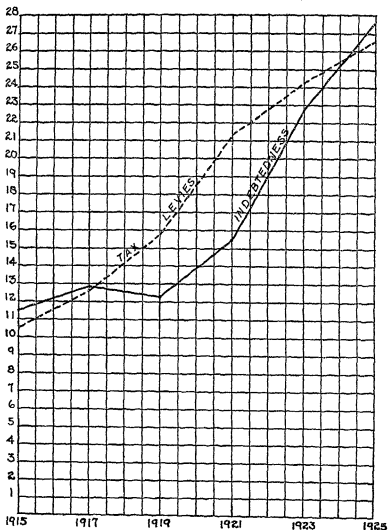
GROWTH OF TAX LEVIES OF TWENTY-FOUR CITIES FROM 1915 TO 1925 (IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS) *



*See Appendix C, p 107, for statement of the tax levies of each city

GRAPH V

COMPARISON OF THE TAX LEVIES AND FUNDED DEBT OF TWENTY-FOUR CITIES
FROM 1915 TO 1925 (IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS) *



*See Appendix B, p. 106, and Appendix C, p. 107, for numerical statement of funded debt and tax levies for each city

not show as much fluctuation as the debts, particularly the decline of the latter in 1919. But on the whole there was a rather close correlation in their amounts from year to year, and their increase was not at widely different rates. While the annual levy increased 153.79 per cent from 1915 to 1925, it will be recalled that the funded debt increased 141.49 per cent.³¹ These figures, showing a slightly smaller rate of increase in indebtedness, do not go to prove that in no instance was borrowing used when resort should have been had to taxation. Perhaps taxation should have been increased more rapidly than it was at the expense of the increase in borrowing. For this reason, all that can be said is that during a decade of rising prices and broadening of municipal functions the funded debt of the cities of over 15,000 population increased at a slightly lower rate than did taxation.

4. Compared with growth of population. Since the size of the population is a determining factor in the growth of municipal debts, as well as one of the determinants of debt burdens, it is well to compare the increase in indebtedness with the growth in population. By totalling the Census Bureau's figures on the population of the twenty-four cities we find that their combined population in 1910 was 673,305, and 814,824 in 1920. The estimated population in 1925 was 922,834.³² Thus there was an increase of 37 per cent in fifteen years, or an annual increase of 2.47 per cent of the population in 1910. This was a little less than the annual rate of increase in indebtedness, which after being reduced to terms of the 1913 dollar was 3.37 per cent of the 1915 debt.³³ But it has been found that a given increase in pop-

³¹If figures were available so that the debts and levies of 1925 could be expressed as a percentage of those in 1913, the percentage no doubt would be higher for both and their proportions changed slightly, but not enough to make any material difference. Such a comparison would be more scientific than the one made because of the large annual municipal issues in 1914 and 1915 as compared to the average of the four pre-war years 1909-1913.

³²*Population and Its Distribution* (4th ed., J. Walter Thompson and Co., 1926). This estimate is based on Census Bureau figures and the method of calculation is that of the Census Bureau.

³³To have used an estimated population for 1915 in this calculation instead of the 1910 population would have been of no value since the same annual increase would have been used for both before and after 1920 for making the estimate.

TABLE III
PER CAPITA FUNDED DEBT OF TWENTY-FOUR CITIES, 1925

<i>City</i>	<i>Per Capita Debt</i>	<i>City</i>	<i>Per Capita Debt</i>
Decatur	\$49 59	Moline	\$11 38
East St. Louis	33 12	Bloomington	14 92
Oak Park	55 44	Elgin	40 51
Peoria	12 47	Belleville	8 19
Rockford	29 05	Alton	15 79
Springfield	26 07	Galesburg	9 06
Evanston	72 06	Chicago Heights	15 79
Joliet	40 35	Waukegan	65 44
Aurora	33 09	Freeport	32 19
Rock Island	11 17	Kewanee	23 26
<i>Group</i>	\$34 29	Champaign	39 33
Danville	26 78	Jacksonville	36 12
Quincy	4 52	<i>Group</i>	\$22 69

ulation will occasion a more than corresponding increase in indebtedness.³⁴

Table III shows the per capita funded debt of the twenty-four cities in 1925. If the cities be divided into two groups, one of ten cities having an estimated population of over 40,000 in 1925, and the other of fourteen cities with a population under 40,000, it will be found that the group of larger cities in 1925 had 69.98 per cent of the total funded debt and 60.7 per cent of the population, while the smaller cities had only 30.2 per cent of the indebtedness and 39.3 per cent of the population. Or looked at in another way, the per capita funded debt of the two groups was \$34.29 and \$22.69, respectively.

It is interesting to find that the total assessed value of property of the twenty-four cities was distributed among the two groups of cities in a proportion approximately that of the population,³⁵ there being 63.63 per cent in the group of ten larger cities and 37.37 per cent in the group of fourteen smaller cities. So in justice to the principle of the present limitation it must be admitted that in this instance at least, assessed values varied in the main very closely with one of the factors which determine the necessity of borrowing, i. e., the size of the population.

5 Compared with growth of special assessment debts. While special assessment debts are outside the scope of the con-

³⁴F. E. Clark, *The Purpose of the Indebtedness of American Cities* (1914), chap. 11 and Appendix A.

³⁵See Appendix B for assessed value of property of each city.

TABLE IV
GROWTH OF SPECIAL ASSESSMENT AND FUNDED INDEBTEDNESS
OF SEVENTEEN CITIES (1915-1925)*

Year	Assessment Debt	Funded Debt
1915	\$ 6,461,708	\$ 8,900,502
1917	7,834,416	10,321,890
1919	7,520,919	10,012,459
1923	10,347,555	17,134,518
1925	16,386,646	21,296,580

*The seventeen cities include eight cities under 40,000 population and nine cities over 40,000. Those over 40,000 are Decatur, East St. Louis, Peoria, Rockford, Springfield, Aurora, Evanston, Joliet, and Rock Island. Those under 40,000 are Kewanee, Freeport, Champaign, Quincy, Moline, Elgin, Danville, and Alton. See Appendix D for the special assessment debts, and Appendix B for the funded debts of the cities individually.

stitutional debt limitation, it is desirable to compare the growth of this type of indebtedness with that of the funded debt. Since special assessment bonds are not obligations of the city corporation the city officials do not always show their amounts and purposes in statements of municipal accounts. For that reason it is possible to use data for only seventeen cities.

That the increase in the two classes of indebtedness was not at widely different rates is brought out by Table IV. Thus, the special assessment debt was smaller in every year than the funded debt, and the increase of the former during the ten year period was 153.6 per cent of the total for 1915, as compared with an increase of 139.27 per cent in the funded debt of the same cities. If the figures for both types of indebtedness be reduced to terms of the 1913 dollar³⁶ there occurred an increase of 40.43 per cent in the special improvement indebtedness and an increase of 33.12 per cent in the funded indebtedness. This leaves the growth of both classes of obligations to be explained largely by the increase in population, the rate of growth of which has already been noted.

The special assessment debts were incurred for street improvements, street lighting, sewers, sidewalks, and watermains; and their amounts, given a particular period in civic development, will depend on the size of the population. An increased urbanization necessitates the extension of streets, sewers, and other special improvements almost in proportion as the population is increased. This is evidenced by Table V.

³⁶See n. 12 above.

TABLE V
DISTRIBUTION OF THE SPECIAL ASSESSMENT AND FUNDED DEBT OF SEVENTEEN
CITIES FOR 1925 ACCORDING TO POPULATION

	<i>Special Assessment Debt</i>	<i>Funded Debt</i>	<i>Population</i>
9 cities over 40,000	\$11,108,459	\$16,347,087	508,519
8 cities under 40,000	5,278,187	4,949,493	220,609
<i>Total</i>	<i>\$16,386,646</i>	<i>\$21,296,580</i>	<i>729,128</i>

Thus, conveniently dividing the seventeen cities into two groups it is found that the group of nine cities having a population of over 40,000 had, in 1925, 67 79 per cent of the special assessment debt and 69 6 per cent of the population, while the group of eight smaller cities had 32 21 per cent of the assessment debt and 30 4 per cent of the population. The per capita indebtedness of this class for the two groups of cities was \$21 84 and \$23 93 respectively. In the case of the funded indebtedness the group of larger cities had 76 76 per cent and the smaller cities 23 24 per cent of the total, or a per capita funded debt of \$32 14 and \$22 45 respectively. The increase in funded obligations has not been at quite as high a rate as the increase in special assessment debts. But the latter varied in almost direct proportion to the population while with an increase in population the funded debt increased progressively.

6 Summary. It has been shown that the annual municipal bond sales of Illinois declined faster relatively from 1915 to 1919 than did those for the North Central states and the nation as a whole, but after the basis of assessment was raised in 1919 the increase for Illinois was at a more rapid rate. The growth in the outstanding funded debt of twenty-four cities of over 15,000 population followed the same tendency from year to year as the municipal bond sales of the state. If both be reduced to terms of the 1913 dollar, the growth in assessed value of property compared with the growth in funded debt was much less rapid, the rate of increase in assessed values from 1915 to 1925 being only about 11 per cent that of the funded debt.⁸⁷ Notwithstanding the legislation of 1919 the debt burden for this group of cities

⁸⁷In terms of the 1913 dollar the funded debt increased 33 73 per cent of the 1915 debt during the ten year period (see page 70), and the assessed value of property increased 3 79 per cent of the 1915 valuation (see page 59).

increased from 5 per cent in 1915 to 7 per cent of assessed values in 1925. But the funded debt considered in connection with the changes in the price level and growth in population affords a better indication of the growth in debt burden. If the debt for both 1915 and 1925 be expressed in terms of the 1913 dollar there was an annual rate of increase of 3.37 per cent. This rate was a little higher than the annual rate of growth in population which was about 2.5 per cent of the population of 1910. Experience has taught that a given increase in population will bring more than a proportionate increase in indebtedness, and when it is remembered that there was a lower rate of increase in debt than in taxation, it would appear that on the whole the indebtedness of the twenty-four cities had not reached alarming heights. Its growth can be attributed to an increase in urban population, and considered one of the costs of material progress.

It is not meant to infer, however, that the limitation has resulted in no evils or that it is subject to no criticism from the standpoint of its influence on the size of municipal debts. It has been shown that, considering individual cities of over 15,000 population in 1925, the per capita funded debt ranged from \$4 to \$72, and the ratio of funded debt to assessed value of property varied from .088 to 14.31 per cent. Those cases where the percentage of debt to assessed value of property were high show the influence of various statutes providing for a variety of municipal corporations having the power to incur debts, and in those cases where the debt was low that condition prevailed not because of the limitation, but in spite of it. Although no community has utilized the maximum power to incur debt given it under the constitution and present legislation, this does not prove that the indebtedness of the municipalities of the state was not larger than it should have been. A small indebtedness may represent abuse of borrowing power as well as a large one. This presents the aspect of the purposes for which indebtedness may be and has been incurred, and attention will next be directed to the lack of consideration of the purposes of indebtedness in the present restriction.

III THE PURPOSES OF INDEBTEDNESS

The size or amount of municipal indebtedness is of little significance unless considered in connection with the purposes

TABLE VI
PURPOSES OF FUNDED DEBT OF TWENTY-FOUR CITIES FOR 1915 AND 1925

<i>Purpose</i>	<i>1915</i>		<i>1925</i>	
Education	\$4,463,543	39 29%	\$13,923,879	50 75%
Water	1,565,600	13 78	3,875,943	14 13
Sewage Disposal	289,615	2 55	2,620,822	9 58
Recreation	948,500	8 35	2,158,696	7 86
Refunding	966,700	8 51	1,061,400	3 87
Bridges and Crossings	412,500	3 63	992,000	3 86
Electric Power and Light	57,000	50	625,870	2 28
Funding	857,000	7 54	546,500	1 99
Fire and Police	267,000	2 35	463,500	1 69
Government Buildings	413,500	3 64	84,000	30
Miscellaneous	694,759	6 18	637,445	2 32
Combined and Unre- ported	425,200	3 74	443,750	1 67
<i>Total</i>	\$11,360,167	100 06%	\$27,433,805	100 00%

for which the obligations were incurred Table VI presents the purposes for which the funded debt of twenty-four cities having a population of over 15,000 was incurred for the years 1915 and 1925

Giving attention first to the non-income producing purposes,³⁸ it is found that they comprised 83.6 per cent of the total debt in 1925. In 1925, the most important of these purposes, in the order of their significance, were education, sewage disposal, and recreation, and of the total funded debt of that year, they accounted for 68 per cent. The data in the above table show that the increase in the indebtedness for these three purposes during the decade was almost equal to the increase in the total debt of this group of cities. The indebtedness for bridges and crossings and fire and police protection slightly more than doubled but were comparatively small, while that for government buildings, funding, and miscellaneous purposes declined. The refunding, and combined or unreported debts remained about stationary, showing only a slight increase.

Education, alone, accounted for half the total debt of 1925, and of the increase of \$16,073,638 in the total funded indebtedness, \$9,461,336 was for that purpose. The debt for sewage disposal, mounting from only \$289,615 in 1915 to \$2,620,822 in 1925, increased faster, relatively, during the decade than did the

³⁸Non-income producing purposes are outlays not earning a money income.

indebtedness for education. In 1915 only two of the twenty-four cities, Oak Park and Evanston, had liabilities for that purpose, and these were their proportionate share of the debt of the Chicago Sanitary District, while by 1925 Champaign, Decatur, Elgin, and Springfield had organized sanitary districts which incurred indebtedness. The increase in the debt for recreation purposes was at a lower rate during the ten year period than that for education and sewage disposal, being 128 per cent of the figure for 1915. Like the increase in the indebtedness for education and sewage disposal it cannot be attributed entirely to the rising price level,³⁹ but must also be explained by civic development and increase in population.

An impressive revelation of the table is the comparatively small amount of debt for income-bearing purposes. The indebtedness of this class was incurred solely for the acquisition of water and electric properties, and debts for these two purposes totalling \$4,501,813 comprised 16.4 per cent of the total debt in 1925. Of this amount only \$625,870 was for electric light and power plants. As small as the latter figure seems, however, it shows a relatively greater increase during the decade than the increase in indebtedness for any other purpose when it is compared with the electric debt of \$57,000 in 1915. In 1915 none of the electric debt was for income-bearing purposes as compared with \$614,870 in 1925. The latter figure represents the electric debt of Springfield and Kewanee. The cities of the class under consideration have not adopted very extensively municipal ownership of their public utility plants, with the one exception of water facilities. Not one of the twenty-four cities owns its street railways,⁴⁰ and only in two instances, Springfield and Kewanee, is there municipal ownership of the plants which generate electricity for private consumption.⁴¹

³⁹The index of general prices compiled by the Federal Reserve Bank of New York was 103 in 1915 and 186 in 1925. There was not much difference between this index and that for construction costs, the latter being 94 in 1915 and 194 in 1925. (See p. 12 above.)

⁴⁰There are two cities in the state of Illinois which own their street railways, Lincoln and Pekin. In 1922 the former was valued at \$65,225, and the latter at \$81,844. (*Electric Railways*, U. S. Census Bureau, 1922.)

⁴¹Aurora, Bloomington, Decatur, and Jacksonville own generating plants for the lighting of streets and city buildings. See Thompson, *op cit*, pp. 240-1.

The Limitation Makes No Distinction Between Purposes

The constitution prohibits any municipal corporation from incurring indebtedness "in any manner or for any purpose" in excess of 5 per cent of the assessed value of property. The courts' interpretation of the term "debt" was given extended treatment in Chapter II, and it may be summarized in the statement that where the general credit of the corporation is at stake (i.e., if property or income already belonging to the municipality is pledged, or resort may be had to the taxing power for the purpose of liquidating the obligation), the contract constitutes an indebtedness. It will be recalled that the constitution also requires that provision be made, at the time of contracting a debt, for the collection of a direct annual tax sufficient to discharge the indebtedness within twenty years. The important distinctions to be made between the purposes of indebtedness in authorizing the contracting of obligations by municipalities, and in the determination of a source and time of payment did not receive recognition in the constitution. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to these considerations.

1. Authorization. As shown in Chapter I the primary motive in 1870 in limiting the indebtedness of municipalities was to check the increase in tax burdens. But it would seem that from this point of view there is a distinction to be made between debts incurred for income-bearing purposes, and those obligations contracted for purposes which do not produce an income. It has been charged that such a distinction between the purposes of indebtedness is of little value and leads to the conclusion that to permit debts for income-producing purposes is the only *safe* bonding policy.⁴² But in differentiating the two types of indebtedness, it is not denied that parks, playgrounds, government buildings, schools and other forms of non-income bearing wealth are economically productive. In time they tend to enhance the productive efficiency of the community, may ultimately increase the tax duplicate, and thus reduce the burden

The plant at Kewanee was completed in 1924. This information was obtained by a visit to the City Clerk's Office, June, 1927.

⁴²See Lane Lancaster, *State Supervision of Municipal Indebtedness* (1923), p. 17.

of the debt contracted in acquiring them. It must not be forgotten, however, that reliance on such reasoning sanctioned municipal aid to railroads three-quarters of a century ago, and led to conditions which brought about the limitation on municipal debts in the Constitution of 1870. Moreover, debts for non-income bearing purposes must be paid from taxes which are a prior claim on the net product of the community. The net income of the community will depend upon economic and industrial conditions which may vary independently of the amount of public improvements, and thus the indebtedness affects the financial stability of the municipality. On the other hand, if the obligation is contracted to acquire income producing properties and is payable from the acquired property or its income, the financial stability of the corporation is in nowise jeopardized, and neither is the patrimony of the state affected. Even if resort may be had to taxation, if adequate safeguards⁴³ are established to maintain rates sufficiently high to meet debt obligations, there is only a potential burden on the resources of the municipality. Moreover, when a city undertakes to supply its population with water, gas, electricity, or transportation facilities there may be not even an increase in private consumption, but only a substitution of public for private management, in which case there would be no additional drain on private income.⁴⁴

Attention has already been called to the small amount of indebtedness for public service enterprises in cities of the state having a population of over 15,000. Although there may be other equally potent reasons⁴⁵ for cities not owning their public

⁴³For example, see the provision in the proposed *Constitution of 1920* with reference to Chicago, above, p. 24.

⁴⁴In justice to the framers of sec. 12 of art. IX, it may be said that placing a like limitation on both types of indebtedness is congruous with the unqualified requirement for provision for taxation.

⁴⁵It was not until 1893 that cities had the power to purchase or lease water works from private companies (*Laws of 1893*, p. 82). Not until 1899 could bonds be issued which were payable only from a water fund built up out of earnings (*Laws of 1899*, p. 104), and it was eight years later before they could be secured by a mortgage on the plant (*Laws of 1907*, p. 201). In 1903 provision was made for street railway certificates secured by earnings and mortgage including the right to use the streets in case of foreclosure (*Laws of 1903*, p. 285). See also above, p. 38. The Municipal Ownership Act of 1913 (amended in 1921

utilities, the constitutional debt limitation has exerted an influence. Instances of public utility bonds being held void because they were in excess of the limit were cited in Chapter II ⁴⁶ In 1925 Alton, Belleville, and Champaign, for example, had an assessed valuation of about \$8,000,000, or an approximate debt limit of \$400,000. It is evident that this would not permit these city corporations to become indebted for the value of their water, electricity, and transportation systems and, at the same time, incur obligations for the prosecution of their other legitimate functions. Without entering into the controversial question of the relative merits of public and private ownership of public utilities, it is true that where the debt limitation has served as a barrier to municipal ownership, it has made the community wholly dependent upon the state public service commission to secure just and reasonable rates from private companies.

As previously stated, moreover, the constitutional limitation permits debts up to the limit for any single purpose ⁴⁷ But large funding debts (in 1915 indebtedness for this purpose amounted to over 7 per cent of the total funded debt of twenty-four cities) are certainly questionable, for they mean a passing on to future taxpayers obligations incurred for current expenses, or because of revenue deficits.

When consideration is given to the variety of municipal corporations, the distribution of borrowing power for particular purposes appears still more unscientific. Thus, before the legislation of 1928, which reduced the percentage but raised the basis of assessment of property, the limit for municipalities outside of Cook County was 8.75 per cent for education, and 5 per cent for parks and sewage disposal, but indebtedness for the variety of purposes for which the city corporation could legitimately contract obligations was limited in the aggregate to 5 per cent of the assessed value of property.

2. Source of payment. The distinction between income and non-income bearing purposes again becomes significant in con-

to apply to villages and incorporated towns) definitely gave cities power to own electric plants (*Laws of 1913*, p. 455.)

⁴⁶See above, pp. 36-39.

⁴⁷Municipal aid to private enterprise of course is prohibited entirely by Separate Section 2 of the *Constitution of 1870*.

sidering the constitutional requirement that provision shall be made for direct taxation to discharge principal and interest. This requirement is irrespective of the purpose for which the indebtedness is incurred. But taxation is justified only to defray expenditures made for the common benefit, and thus to require that a direct tax be provided to discharge the obligations incurred in the construction of a city hall or a school building, and to make the same requirement to insure payment of bonds issued to acquire a light and power plant are quite different in principle. In the former case the benefits from the outlay are primarily public, and the special benefits accruing to individuals are secondary, and so no fault can be found with discharging the indebtedness through taxation. In the latter case, however, special benefits are primary, and so there is a distinction to be made between consumers and taxpayers. If the consumer does not pay rates for the service sufficient to meet the cost and discharge the indebtedness, his lower rates are obtained at the expense of the taxpayer. It has been said that, where the service is of such general use that taxpayers and consumers are identical, no injustice is done.⁴⁸ But taxpayers do not pay taxes on the same amount of property, nor are they likely to pay taxes in proportion to the service used. Thus, there might still be injustice as among individual taxpayers.

There is a greater or less public benefit derived from some public service enterprises than others. The public is deeply interested in having a good water system from the standpoints of both health and fire protection. In large cities the social benefit derived from street railways, by making for less congested conditions, might be considered greater than that obtained from an electric light and power system. This difference in the degree of public benefit involved is worthy of consideration in the financing of various outlays. Section 20 of Article IV of the constitution provides protection to the taxpayers of the state against that governmental unit assuming the debts of any one municipality. It seems equally important that the taxpayers of a particular community be protected against having to discharge debts which ought to be paid wholly or partly by

⁴⁸Horace Secrist, *An Economic Analysis of Constitutional Restriction upon Public Indebtedness*, University of Wisconsin Bulletin No. 637 (1914), p. 115.

another class in the same community. Moreover, in privately owned enterprises the bonds are secured only by the income and property. If in public ownership the creditors have the additional protection of resort to the taxing power of the municipality, the rate of interest on the indebtedness will be lower, and thus service rates to consumers may be reduced. It does not seem that placing the taxpayer in this position of liability is justified unless there is a marked degree of public benefit involved in bringing the service financially within the reach of all.

The effect of this provision of the constitution, however, has been modified by the legislature. Under a general municipal ownership act⁴⁹ cities were given power to issue bonds upon the credit of the municipality up to 110 per cent of the cost of the property, or the power to issue public utility certificates up to 110 per cent of the cost of the property and payable solely out of the revenues derived from operations. Bonds secured by the general credit of the corporation, however, would come within the scope of the constitutional debt limitation, and likewise would the certificates payable from the earnings of the undertaking if an income previously accruing to the city were pledged.⁵⁰ In July, 1927, an act was passed permitting incorporated towns, cities, and villages to issue bonds secured by the earnings and a mortgage lien on water systems financed under that act, and it also placed such indebtedness outside the constitutional debt limitation.⁵¹ It further provided a method to calculate the income derived from the extension of old systems,⁵² so that the new bonds could be secured only by the income from the property acquired through their issue. Similar legislation is still needed for other public industries.

3 The time of payment. In the constitutional convention of 1870 there seemed to be a desire to insure payment of municipal debts, hence the requirement for the provision for a direct annual tax, but the convention went further than that and required a term of twenty years. The sole consideration in fixing the term of twenty years seems to have been the salability of

⁴⁹*Laws of 1913*, p. 455.

⁵⁰See above, pp. 35ff.

⁵¹*Laws of 1927*, p. 339.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 340.

the bonds The contention on which the following paragraphs are based is that to insure the payment of debts and to require that they be paid within a definite period of time are two quite distinct problems, and that they deserve separate consideration It is only sound finance that debts be paid, since non-payment reacts unfavorably on the credit of the municipality, and other governmental units in the state, while fixing the term of a debt is an important element in bringing about an equalization of burdens between different generations of taxpayers It is a principle of finance that where the purpose of a debt is to acquire property, the term of the debt should be equated to the estimated useful life of the property ⁴³ If, for example, a community builds a school building which has an estimated useful life of thirty years, and in addition to caring for depreciation and interest it pays off one-thirtieth of the indebtedness from this cause annually, the average indebtedness will represent the average value of the building during the period—the amount of capital which the community has invested for that particular purpose, and which it is raising by approved methods of modern finance Furthermore each generation would be paying its share of the cost of the utilities which it used

In the light of the above considerations it is now the purpose to inquire into the efficacy of the constitutional term It was shown in Chapter II that indebtedness may be contracted to run for a period shorter than twenty years, but there is nothing to prevent any indebtedness, irrespective of the purpose, to run for the full period A term of two or three years would be more desirable for some debts Thus after the loss in income from liquor licenses, with the advent of national prohibition, the city of Chicago Heights, not having made provision for increased tax levies, was forced to resort to the special assessment fund to meet current expenses The result was a bond issue of \$125,000 for

⁴³This is not the only consideration, however Interest rates might be high at the time the debt is contracted and thus a shorter term with subsequent refunding would be advisable Existing tax burdens might make it expedient to lengthen the term in some instances In case of permanent property such as land for park purposes a long term is desirable, but modern finance would not sanction perpetual indebtedness in that case The rule expressed above is a guiding principle to equalize the burden between different periods and is subject to modification to meet particular situations

twenty years to take up a judgment "and restore the special assessment fund"⁶⁴ Jacksonville in 1919 floated a bond issue of \$131,000 for twenty years to fund a revenue deficit and a small floating debt of \$7,000⁶⁵ Thus the future taxpayers of these two cities will be taxed to discharge current obligations of at least twenty years before While such a procedure may be justified occasionally on the grounds of expediency, it does not contribute to an equitable distribution of public burdens between two periods The interpretation by the Supreme Court to permit debts to be contracted for a shorter term than twenty years is fortunate, but there is yet no means of enforcing a shorter term in cases where it is economically desirable

As was shown in Chapter II, moreover, the Supreme Court has interpreted the provision to permit refunding when it has legislative sanction The General Assembly has liberally conferred refunding powers upon cities and other municipal corporations Under the *General Act for the Incorporation of Cities and Villages*⁶⁶ (Article 5, Section 63, Paragraph 6), there is granted the power "to issue bonds in place of or to supply means to meet maturing bonds, or for the consolidation or funding of the same" By another act⁶⁷ counties, cities, towns, townships, school districts or other municipal corporations, are permitted to refund bonds which have been issued for any purpose, provided the new bonds are issued on the authority of a majority vote of the legal voters at some annual or special election, bear a rate of interest of less than 10 per cent, and in other respects satisfy the requirements of Section 12 of Article IX of the constitution. This act also contains the following emergency clause.

Whereas some counties, cities, townships and other municipal corporations in this state, having outstanding bonds and other evidences of indebtedness that will soon fall due, and are without any remedy for renewing or funding the same, therefore this act shall be in force from and after its passage

All cities and villages now have refunding powers, but unless they are incorporated under the general incorporation act, refunding may take place only after being sanctioned by a popular vote As for other municipal corporations, they have the priv-

⁶⁴Information obtained by a visit to the City Clerk's Office

⁶⁵Auditor's Report for 1926 Found in City Clerk's Office at Jacksonville

⁶⁶Laws of 1871-2, p. 218

⁶⁷Laws of 1875, p. 100

ilege to refund maturing obligations under the act of 1875, if not given that power in the special act which created them. It is evident then that the constitutional term has no meaning except that bonds may first be issued for a period not longer than twenty years.

The term of twenty years is a relatively short one, and it is defensible for the larger part of the funded debt to be contracted for the full term, since in 1925 of the total debt of twenty-four cities 88.78 per cent was for school buildings, water systems, sewage disposal facilities, parks and playgrounds, bridges and crossings, electric plants, and government buildings. The usefulness of these properties will last the constitutional term or longer. The remaining 11.22 per cent was for funding, refunding, miscellaneous, and combined or unreported purposes, and no doubt a large part of this debt could justifiably be contracted for twenty years.

If the term of the debt is to be equated to the estimated useful life of the acquired property, it will be found that twenty years is a term too short for some indebtedness, and where that is true the interpretation of the court permitting refunding affords a fortuitous escape from an unscientific provision in the constitution. Moreover, privately financed public utilities have perpetual indebtedness, and from the standpoint of justice between consumers of different periods, if adequate depreciation allowances are made, there is much to be said in favor of perpetual indebtedness for municipally owned enterprises. But at present there is nothing to prevent perpetual indebtedness for any purpose. Examples of repeated refunding are not lacking. Freeport refunded an issue in 1890 for twenty years and again in 1910 for a similar period. East St. Louis "to pay off its creditors" in 1888 issued refunding bonds and followed the same procedure again in 1908 for twenty years. In 1922 Peoria paid off the last of an issue of Civil War bounty bonds. Joliet refunded water bonds in 1904 and again in 1914 for twenty years. Quincy, Springfield, and Jacksonville refunded railway aid bonds more than once.⁵³ As long as investors can be found who

⁵³These examples of refunding were traced through the volumes of the *State and Municipal Compendium of the Commercial and Financial Chronicle*. The railway aid bonds were registered with the State Auditor pursuant to an

are willing to purchase refunding bonds there need be no taxation to liquidate indebtedness, notwithstanding Section 12 of Article IX of the constitution ⁴⁹ Since there is the constant temptation for public officials to postpone payment by refunding in order to reduce taxes, and in the case of municipally owned public utilities, to maintain low rates for services, the lack of any control over the term for which debts may run defeats the chief end of scientific public borrowing, namely, a just distribution of burdens between present and succeeding generations

act of 1865 and subsequent acts, and a record of them may be found in his annual report for all years

⁴⁹It was explained in chap. II, p. 43, that the phrase "provision for the collection of a direct annual tax" did not mean that the tax had to be levied.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

It has been shown that the constitutional restrictions upon municipal indebtedness were a method of coping with a situation which threatened the financial stability of the local governments in the state in the middle of the past century. Although the limitation was justified and effective in checking the rapid increase in local indebtedness, the conditions which brought it about no longer exist. Furthermore, Separate Section 2 of the constitution expressly prohibits subsidies to private capital, and so Section 12 of Article IX has continued as a limitation upon municipal indebtedness for purposes of a governmental and commercial nature. To determine its efficacy in this respect has been the purpose of this study.

Desirability of Present Restrictions

State control over local debts is justified as a means of protecting the patrimony of the state government and the credit of other governmental units in the state. To do this it must prevent excessive taxation for local purposes at all times, and insure that necessary debt burdens are equalized between present and future taxpayers. From these points of view the matter of controlling local borrowing involves the following fundamental economic considerations: (1) the amount of indebtedness, which is a question of the necessity of capital outlays and the capacity of the community to pay, (2) the purpose of indebtedness, (3) source of payment, and (4) time of payment. The conclusions of this inquiry into the desirability of the present restrictions may be stated from these points of view.

The Amount of Indebtedness

As a method of regulating the amount of indebtedness the constitutional limitation has been found to be indefensible for the following reasons:

(a) It does not apply uniformly to all communities in the state because of its relation to the assessed value of property, which varies in the ratio it bears to true value from one community to another. A city which assesses property at the legal ratio, in order to obtain its full borrowing power, must bear more than

its justly proportionate share of taxes for state purposes because of underassessment elsewhere. Moreover, where there is underassessment there is an abridged power to incur debts.

(b) Since it is not a limitation upon the aggregate indebtedness of a community, but is applicable only to each municipal corporation considered singly, the creation of special municipal corporations by the legislature substantially and unscientifically raises the limit to which communities may borrow. While it is within the power of the legislature to fix the debt limit for these corporations within the constitutional limit, in only one instance, that of the high school districts, has it abridged the borrowing power of any type of municipal corporation which it has created.¹ What the limit for all municipal purposes is depends upon the extent to which a community has decentralized its government.

(c) During a period of rising prices such as from 1915 to 1925, the assessed value of property does not keep pace with the price level, and thus municipalities suffer an actual decline in their power to contract debts. This tendency was counteracted in the period just mentioned by the legislation of 1919 which raised the legal basis of assessment. Only because of that legislation did assessed values keep pace with a depreciating dollar.

(d) Even if property were efficiently assessed, taxable values are an unsatisfactory index of capacity to pay. Since they exclude the value of tax exempt property, no consideration is given to some indexes of the character of citizenship, willingness to shoulder tax burdens, and the economic stability of the community. Moreover, it is not reasonable that a city's borrowing power should be reduced because it owns property.

Except in the case of a few public utility debts otherwise secured, municipal credit rests upon the taxing power, and the extent to which municipal resources are being tapped is reflected in the levy, not in the assessed value of property which may bear any ratio to true value. The amount of indebtedness which a community may safely incur depends upon the annual charges

¹It is true, of course, that in the legislation of 1928 a distinction was obtained between the municipalities of Cook County and other municipal corporations of the state.

for debt service compared with the margin of available revenues over what is needed for current expenditures. This consideration is completely lacking in the present limitation, because of the inability to obtain uniform assessments.

(e) The problem of determining the amount of indebtedness which a community should incur is not so simply solved as by making the limit an arbitrary percentage of assessed value, even if assessments were all that they should be in expressing the wealth of the citizenship. The need for capital outlays depends upon the age and population of the community, and various social, economic and geographic factors which may vary independently of property values. Thus, it was found that the funded debt of twenty-four cities having a population of more than 15,000 varied from less than 1 per cent in Quincy to 14.31 per cent of assessed values in Waukegan. The per capita funded debt ranged from \$4.52 in Quincy to \$72.06 in Evanston. None of the twenty-four communities had utilized their total borrowing power in 1925.

(f) Legislation such as that of 1909 and 1919, which raised the basis of assessment, increases the debt limit of all communities and municipal corporations irrespective of their individual needs. A comparison of the growth of municipal bond sales in Illinois with those of the North Central states and the nation as a whole, from 1919 to 1925, based upon their respective yearly averages from 1909 to 1913, revealed a relatively much greater increase during the decade for Illinois. But while this was true, judging from the rise in the price level and the data on the growth of funded debt, tax levies, and population of twenty-four cities having a population in excess of 15,000, the funded debt as a whole had not reached indefensible heights in 1925.

(g) The limitation does not prevent abuse of public borrowing, and at best could only be capable of preventing excessive indebtedness. Its influence is felt only when the indebtedness of a single corporation approaches the limit. There is no consideration of the aggregate debt burden of all corporations on a common patrimony. Where it is effective it is susceptible of undue rigidity and in those municipal corporations in which it is not effective, it serves no useful purpose whatever.

Purposes of Indebtedness

The constitutional provision makes no distinction between the purposes for which debts may be incurred, and the interpretation of the term "debt" by the Supreme Court has not remedied the situation. This has two important consequences:

(a) The wholly or partially self-supporting character of public service enterprises is not recognized, with the result that there has been erected a barrier to municipal ownership.

(b) There is nothing to prevent large funded debts being incurred for current expenses. This makes possible shifting to future taxpayers burdens which should be borne by the present, and one end of debt control is to prevent this from happening.

Source of Payment

Because of the fact that, in the requirement that provision shall be made in the ordinance, at the time of contracting a debt, for sufficient taxation to pay interest and discharge the obligation at maturity, no distinction is made between debts for income and non-income bearing purposes, the constitutional provision is not conducive to a proper relationship of taxpayer, consumer, and creditor. Cities may issue bonds secured solely by the earnings and a mortgage on the property, only with legislative consent. It has been shown that the legislature has been slow in making it possible for all utilities and their extensions to be financed in this manner. To the extent that this has not been done the taxpayers have been placed in a position of liability for the benefit of consumers.

Time of Payment

It is an indefensible provision in the constitution which fixes the original term of an indebtedness at not more than twenty years. The period which a debt should be allowed to run is a matter to be settled, in the main, by the estimated useful life of the acquired property, and twenty years is too long for some debts and too short for others. Since the Supreme Court has legalized refunding and the legislature has bestowed refunding powers upon all municipalities, which is fortunate where the twenty year term is too short, there is nothing to prevent perpetual indebtedness, or an actual term which is too long. The phrase "provision for the collection of a direct annual tax" does

not compel the *levy* of a tax, and thus provision for the tax may be made in the ordinance, but a levy never be made. Hence, in reality there is no effective control over the term of debts.

From the above criticisms of the constitutional provisions and statutes relative to municipal indebtedness, the conclusion is warranted that the state of Illinois is in need of a method of limiting municipal debts which is flexible and scientific, in that it will take due account of all those conditions of time and place which determine the necessity of capital outlays and capacity to pay, give due consideration to the effect of the purposes of indebtedness upon the financial burden of the community at present and in the future, and adequately take heed of the economic factors involved in determining the source from which payment should be made, and the term of indebtedness.

ALTERNATIVE MEASURES ADOPTED ELSEWHERE

While the solution to the problem of controlling local debts must be founded upon those economic considerations discussed in this study, the selection of the machinery best adapted for the prosecution of those principles is a legal and political problem for the best political thought to solve. For that reason it is beyond the province of the present inquiry to suggest more than the broad outlines of schemes in use elsewhere, which if adopted in Illinois would in some respects be a complete remedy for the defects of the present provisions, and at least a partial one for others. The legislation cited in the following paragraphs presents alternatives desirable from an economic point of view without respect to political theory and expediency, or legal difficulties. They evidence the lack of progressiveness of the State of Illinois in this respect, and demonstrate that it has much to do to bring its supervision over local finance in line with modern developments.

This legislation is grouped according to the problem which it attempts to solve. There are admirable provisions in the statutes of some states which are not cited, but they do not represent any attempt to treat the problem as a whole.² Nor is it

²For an excellent compilation of state laws and constitutional provisions relative to the problem at hand, see Lane Lancaster, *State Supervision of Municipal Indebtedness* (Philadelphia, 1923).

felt that they offer anything better than the legislation noted in the following pages

Amount of Indebtedness

Massachusetts—Massachusetts was the first state to attempt a scientific treatment of the problem of controlling local indebtedness.³ The state constitution is silent on the question of municipal indebtedness, but under a law of 1875 the debt limit of cities is fixed at 2.5 per cent of the average of the previous three years' assessed valuations, and that of towns at 3 per cent of the valuation of the next preceding year.⁴ The legislature, however, passes special legislation for debts which are above these limits, or for purposes which have not already been approved by general legislation. But such acts are enacted only after the legislature has the benefit of the impartial advice of a state authority, the Director of the Bureau of Statistics, whose duty it is to examine all petitions for special treatment, and report to the legislative committee to which the petition was referred. The accounting and auditing functions of this official are broad,⁵ and while his office is little more than a fact collecting agency, the wealth of statistical information at his disposal enables him to serve efficiently in an advisory capacity to the legislature and local officials, thus providing a sound basis for necessary changes in legislation, and enhancing the soundness of local finance. The essence of the scheme in so far as it relates to the amount of indebtedness is that there is an attempt to adhere to the principle of home rule, allowing each municipality to contract debts up to the legislative limit on its own accord, and flexibility to meet

³The present provisions were a result of an investigation of local finances completed in 1912. The original Municipal Indebtedness Act was passed in 1913.

⁴*Laws of 1875*, chap. 209.

⁵The accounting officers of each city and town must file detailed financial reports annually with the director (*Acts of 1909*, chap. 371). He has the power to audit the records of each city and town and install a system of accounts upon petition for such action by the city council or town meeting (*Acts of 1910*, chap. 598, amended by *Acts of 1913*, chap. 706). An audit for all subdivisions of the state every three years is compulsory (*Acts of 1920*, chap. 345).

local needs is attained by special legislation based upon the advice of a competent and well informed official.⁶

New Jersey—Like Massachusetts the State of New Jersey has no constitutional limitation, but there is provided a legislative limit of 7 per cent of the average of the last three years' assessed value of real estate.⁷ The singular feature of the New Jersey scheme is the creation of the office of Commissioner of Municipal Accounts.⁸ While this official has broad and coercive auditing and accounting powers,⁹ he has no direct control over the creation of local indebtedness, that power being vested in the governing body of the municipality.¹⁰ But he insures the payment of debts by his power to certify the annual requirements for debt service in the budget, either sinking fund contributions or serial installments. This has the salutary effect of encouraging careful consideration before debts are contracted, for payment is inescapable. With the need of a uniform system of municipal accounting and an agency for the collection of data relative to local finance in the State of Illinois the desirable effect which such an official is able to exert upon the amount of local indebtedness makes the New Jersey plan worthy of consideration.¹¹

⁶The Massachusetts scheme is favorably commented upon in succeeding volumes of the *Annual Report on the Statistics of Municipal Finance*, especially the one for 1913, p. vii, Bureau of Statistics.

⁷*Laws of 1916*, subsec. 3, sec. 12, chap. 252.

⁸*Laws of 1917*, chap. 154, *Laws of 1918*, chap. 266.

⁹He must audit sinking funds every two years and has power to install a uniform system of accounts for sinking funds and general financial transactions of municipalities, and furnish forms for annual reports and financial statements (*Laws of 1917*, chap. 154, and *Laws of 1918*, chap. 266). An audit of all municipal accounts in all municipalities having an assessed valuation of more than \$3,000,000 is compulsory (*Laws of 1918*, chaps. 267 and 268, *Laws of 1921*, chap. 105).

¹⁰In boroughs and townships a petition signed by 10 per cent of the taxpayers may occasion a special bond election at which a majority of those voting must approve the debt (*Laws of 1916*, sec. 9, chap. 252).

¹¹The state of Iowa also has a system of budgetary control. For a discussion of this plan, see Wylie Kilpatrick, *State Administrative Review of Local Budget Making*, Municipal Administration Service, Publication No. 3, New York, 1927.

Indiana—A most unique scheme of state supervision is the Indiana plan. Indiana has a constitutional limitation of 2 per cent of the assessed value of property, but it has taken a step in the direction of administrative control. The present provision is a compromise between the Tax Law of 1919, which vested the power to approve local taxes and bond issues in the State Board of Tax Commissioners, and the "Johnson Home Rule" act, passed at a special session of the legislature in 1920, which vested the same powers in the county council. The law of 1919 resulted in flooding the State Board with requests from local governments to contract debts, and the legislation of the following year failed to check the increase in tax levies and indebtedness. The present provisions were enacted in 1921, and now any municipality may contract debts up to \$5,000 through local officials without the intervention of state authorities. But any intention to issue bonds making the total debt in excess of that amount must be given newspaper publicity for at least two weeks. Ten or more property tax payers may file a petition of protest with the county auditor who certifies the petition to the State Board, after which a date is fixed for a hearing in the county of the district. The proposed debt must then be passed upon by that body. The law further provides that the interest rate shall not exceed 6 per cent and that all issues where the rate exceeds 5 per cent must receive the approval of the Board. The decision of the State Board is always final.¹²

Because of the unique character of the Indiana plan it is felt that a brief statement of its results will not be out of place. The hearings involve no direct expense on the part of the local taxpayers, and while the law applies to tax levies as well as bond issues, the State Board of Tax Commissioners in its report for 1924 states that advantage has been taken of the law more frequently in the case of the latter. From March, 1921, to October, 1925, the Board had disapproved bond issues totalling about \$18,000,000 and had approved a total of \$27,000,000; or in other words, had disapproved about 40 per cent of the bond issues submitted for its approval.¹³

¹²These provisions are embodied in sec. 4, chap. 225, *Laws of 1921*, an amendment to the Tax Law of 1919.

¹³Based on table found in *Annual Report of State Board of Tax Commissioners, 1925*, p. 4.

A significant element in municipal borrowing is the cost of the capital acquired through the loan. It is well known that contracts are often let when the contractor's bids are too high. The control of the State Board over local bond issues in Indiana has resulted in savings of thousands of dollars to many communities in the state because of its power to employ engineers to estimate the cost of improvements, and if these estimates are lower, to order new bids.¹⁴ The fact that a bond issue may be appealed to the Board has in itself tended to keep down the cost in many cases.¹⁵

Purposes

In regard to the distinction to be made between funded debts incurred for current expenses and those for permanent financing the statutes of Massachusetts and New Jersey are worthy of note. In New Jersey funded debt for current expenses is expressly forbidden.¹⁶ Massachusetts accomplished the same end by listing the purposes for which cities and towns could contract funded debts, and then prohibited the same for other purposes.¹⁷ The laws of both states commendably regulate in detail the administration of temporary debts.¹⁸ Observance of this legislation by local officials is guaranteed in New Jersey by the powers of the Commissioner of Municipal Accounts over the local budget, and in Massachusetts, by the requirement that the Director of the Bureau of Statistics shall certify as to the regularity and legality of Town Notes, and by the fact that the financial data in his office on other local governments is open to public inspection.

The laws of these states also take cognizance of the self-supporting character of income-producing utilities. In the New

¹⁴*Proceedings State Board of Tax Commissioners and County Assessors of Indiana for Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1924*, p. 22, *Annual Report of State Board of Tax Commissioners 1924*, p. 11 ff.

¹⁵*Annual Report of State Board of Tax Commissioners 1924*, p. 20.

¹⁶*Laws of 1916*, chap. 252.

¹⁷*Acts of 1913*, chap. 719.

¹⁸In New Jersey these provisions are embodied in chap. 192, *Laws of 1917*, as amended by chap. 242, *Laws of 1918*, and chap. 178, *Laws of 1919*. An excellent analysis of these and other laws is *Analysis of the Laws Affecting Municipal and County Finances and Taxation*, by Arthur N. Pierson, author of the laws. Certification of town notes in Massachusetts is provided for in *Acts of 1912*, chap. 45.

Jersey Bond Act of 1916¹⁹ debts for these purposes are placed outside the general legislative limit. Massachusetts has permitted debts for water, gas, or electric facilities in addition to the general legislative debt limit, but debts for gas or electric plants are limited to 5 per cent of the assessed valuation in towns and to 2 5 per cent in cities.²⁰

Source of Payment

While it is desirable to permit increased indebtedness for income-producing purposes, in justice to taxpayers it does not appear that this ought to be done unless some other source of payment than taxation is specified. The constitutions of Michigan²¹ and Ohio²² contain provisions which are identical in this respect, and which authorize any municipality to acquire or construct a public utility by issuing mortgage bonds therefor beyond the general limit of bonded indebtedness prescribed by law, provided that such mortgage bonds shall not impose any liability upon such municipality, but shall be secured only by the property and revenues of such public utility, including a franchise stating the terms upon which, in case of foreclosure, the purchaser may operate the same. In view of the decision in the case of *Lobdell v Chicago*, and the general difficulty of financing public utilities in this manner in Illinois, these provisions in Michigan and Ohio present a striking contrast.

The legislation of New Jersey while permitting payment of public utility bonds from taxation, encourages redemption from the earnings of the enterprise. The debt limit refers to net debt and, for public utility bonds to be excluded from the debt limit, the earnings must be sufficient to meet debt charges (interest and installments on the principal falling due within the year) and operating, upkeep, and carrying charges during the preceding year. Such deductions from gross indebtedness are allowed up to 3 per cent of the average assessed value of real estate.²³

¹⁹*Laws of 1916*, chap. 252. See also *Analysis of the Laws Affecting Municipal and County Finances, and Taxation*, pp. 112-113.

²⁰*Acts of 1913*, chap. 719.

²¹Art. VIII, sec. 24.

²²Art. XVIII, sec. 12.

²³See *Analysis of the Laws Affecting Municipal and County Finances and Taxation*, p. 103.

TABLE VII
MATURITY LIMITS OF DEBTS FOR VARIOUS PURPOSES IN MASSACHUSETTS, NEW JERSEY, AND NORTH CAROLINA*

<i>Purpose of Issue</i>	<i>Maturity Limits</i>		
	<i>New Jersey Years</i>	<i>Massachusetts† Years</i>	<i>North Carolina Years</i>
Elimination of grade crossings	50		30
Land for park purposes	50	30	50
Sewers and sewage disposal	40	30	40
Acquisition or construction of water supply systems	40	30	40
Land for other than park or cemetery purposes	40	20	50
Gas plants	30	20	
Land for cemeteries	30	10	30
Playgrounds	30	30	50
Land for streets, grading, etc	30		50
Fire or police alarm systems	30		30
Stone or concrete bridges or iron superstructures	30		40
Electric light and power plants	20	20	
Construction of buildings and equipment—			
Frame construction	20	20	20
Non-fireproof but not frame	30	20	30
Fireproof	40	20	40
Additions to buildings and equipment—			
Frame construction	15	20	
Non-fireproof but not frame	20	20	
Fireproof	30	20	
Street and road paving—			
Gravel	5	10	5
Macadam	10	5	10
Concrete	15	10	20
Blocks, asphalt, brick	20	10	20
Incinerators and garbage plants	10		20
Curbs, sidewalks, and gutters	10	5	20
Additional departmental equipment	10	5	10
Connecting dwellings with public sewers	5	5	10
All other purposes not to exceed	40		40

*New Jersey, Ch. 252, *Laws of 1916*; Massachusetts, Ch. 719, *Acts of 1913*; North Carolina, Secs. 2952-53, *Consol. Stats.*, 1917-1921.

†Other terms are: Abolition of nuisances, 5 years; payment of judgments after tax rate has been fixed, 1 year; extreme emergency appropriations for health and safety, 5 years; other emergency appropriations if approved by state authority, 1 year; temporary loans, 1 year; extension of water mains and water equipment, 5 years.

Time of Payment

The states of New Jersey, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Ohio, and Michigan have attempted by legislation to insure that the term for which municipal debts are contracted will be related to the estimated useful life of the acquired property. The classification in Table VII is that of New Jersey, and while the details of the classifications of Massachusetts and North Carolina are not always coincident, the table in addition to indicating

the progressive measures which these states have taken, affords a fairly accurate comparison of the maturity limits for specific purposes in the three states. The classifications of Ohio and Michigan are more general in character but involve the same principle. While these are only the maximum terms, the actual term is fixed by the local governing body which may have the advice and opinion of the engineer or architect in adjusting the term within the limits fixed by the statutes.²⁴

Both Massachusetts²⁵ and New Jersey,²⁶ moreover, prohibit refunding. It will be recalled that in New Jersey the Commissioner of Municipal Accounts has the power to certify the requirements for debt service in the local budget, and to the extent that he performs this duty the necessity of refunding is obviated. In both states the compulsory audits and filing of annual financial reports with state authorities are significant in preventing any tendency to postpone debt payments.

It is evident that control of municipal indebtedness must cope with dynamic and local conditions, and so is not a subject to be treated by a constitutional provision which must necessarily be static and general in nature. To a less degree this is true of statutory provisions. Neither a constitutional provision nor a statute is entirely self-executing—the present limitation in Illinois has not prevented debts in excess of the limit in several instances. For this reason, states like New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Indiana have instituted with a system of legislative control some degree of administrative supervision by state authorities, not only to see that the statutory and constitutional limits are not exceeded, but to enhance the soundness of each transaction as well, and this is commendable.

It is true, moreover, that statutes cannot be sufficiently inclusive to treat adequately such problems as fixing the term of indebtedness at all times and for all purposes. As was suggested in the preceding chapter, even the source from which payment of an indebtedness is to be made may, in some instances, be divided between taxes and the earnings of a public service enterprise. Whether payment be made by means of sinking funds or serial

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 97

²⁵*Acts of 1913*, chap. 719

²⁶*Laws of 1916*, chap. 252

installments, technical problems arise, either in accumulating and investing the sinking fund or fixing the maturity date of each series²⁷ Then there is the matter of fixing the rate of interest At best the statutes can only set a maximum rate²⁸ which may be too high at times, thus permitting the sale of bonds at a premium which is often thrown into the general funds as a current revenue²⁹ Moreover if bonds are issued in excess of the limitation shall the individual taxpayer be forced to seek relief in the courts at his own expense, as he must in Illinois? And shall the creditor always run the risk of repudiation on the grounds of some legal technicality?

Thus, the details of public borrowing make its efficient control a matter of administration to a great extent Recognizing this, one student of the problem defends a purely administrative control as the best solution for the American states³⁰ and would place all responsibility for the contracting and administration of local debts upon the shoulders of a state official The proposal has the merit of not being new in principle, having been tried in England, and, to varying degrees, in some of the Canadian provinces.

The powers of the Local Government Board of Saskatchewan may be taken as an example³¹ It not only approves or disapproves applications by local authorities to raise funds by bor-

²⁷Both Massachusetts (*Acts of 1913*, chap 719) and New Jersey (*Laws of 1916*, chap 252) authorize only serial bonds In New Jersey in order to make the annual burden for interest and principal approximately equal throughout the term of the debt, it is provided that the first installment shall not fall due more than two years from the date of issue and that the last maturities may be 50 per cent greater than the smallest prior maturity See article by A D Chandler, "Amortization," in the *American Economic Review*, III, 875-93, *Report of a Special Investigation Relative to the Sinking Funds and Serial Loans of the Cities and Towns of the Commonwealth*, Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics (House Document No 2162, 1913), A E Buck, *Municipal Finance*, pp 495-503 A defense of the sinking fund method is found in E H Turner, *The Repayment of Local and Other Loans*, Ronald, 1913

²⁸The various statutes of Illinois which define the powers of each type of municipal corporation specify maximum rates at which they may borrow

²⁹Buck, *op cit*, p 492

³⁰Lancaster, *op cit*, p 91 ff

³¹*Saskatchewan Revised Statutes*, 1920, secs 309-378 (The City Act) The Local Government Board was created by chap 41, *Acts of 1913*

rowing, but it supervises the sale of certificates of indebtedness and the expenditure of borrowed funds. It exercises supervisory powers over the term of local debts and the rate of interest. Upon application of local authorities it manages their sinking funds. The Board also has the power to require at any time a detailed financial statement of municipal officers. The duty of validating local debentures is assigned to a provincial official, the Minister of Municipal Affairs. The Local Board is assisted in its work by an Advisory Committee of two members appointed by the Saskatchewan Association of Rural Municipalities, and the Union of Saskatchewan Municipalities, organizations similar in purpose to the Illinois Municipal League.

The superiority of the plans and provisions outlined above over the constitutional limitation in Illinois cannot be denied. It would seem desirable to substitute a combined legislative and administrative control in which it would be the function of the legislature to pass laws general in nature,³² leaving flexibility to meet the exigencies of any occasion to a competent state board or official. Such a scheme would not only save thousands of dollars to local taxpayers, as has resulted from the activities of the State Board of Indiana, but would protect the interests of the state government and strengthen the credit of the municipalities of the state.

³²See *A Model Bond Law* by a Committee on Municipal Borrowings of the National Municipal League. This proposed legislation is very similar to provisions now existing in either Massachusetts or New Jersey, which have been noted. The *Model Bond Law* also treats numerous questions of administrative detail as well as those of a legal nature which can not be treated in this study.

ASSESSED VALUE OF PROPERTY OF TWENTY-FOUR CITIES, 1915-25*

City	(ooo Omitted)					
	1915	1917	1919	1921	1923	1925
Alton	\$ 4,833	\$ 4,771	\$ 7,747	\$ 7,754	\$ 7,955	\$ 8,411
Aurora	9,332	9,591	15,504	15,909	16,212	17,411
Belleville	4,736	4,883	7,815	8,602	8,561	8,839
Bloomington	8,407	8,527	13,611	14,545	13,556	13,680
Champaign	4,212	4,526	7,173	7,501	7,481	7,944
Chicago Heights	2,023	2,206	3,734	4,050	4,075	4,174
Danville	9,022	9,158	15,696	15,714	14,892	15,200
Decatur	8,050	9,332	15,448	17,041	17,161	18,607
East St. Louis	13,770	12,578	23,379	23,475	25,563	25,524
Elgin	8,656	8,721	13,487	13,858	13,874	14,187
Evanston	12,876	14,044	21,677	22,115	24,151	27,422
Freeport	5,816	5,567	8,464	9,089	9,279	9,176
Galesburg	7,449	7,542	11,951	12,101	12,108	12,227
Jacksonville	4,341	4,403	6,670	6,615	6,338	6,345
Joliet	7,843	7,899	12,348	12,769	12,757	14,107
Kewanee	2,664	2,696	4,450	4,954	4,715	4,964
Moline	6,905	7,079	11,631	11,918	11,534	12,090
Oak Park	8,179	9,463	15,849	17,251	18,288	21,500
Peoria	23,566	24,242	39,038	40,433	41,284	43,524
Quincy	10,997	10,976	18,326	18,576	18,363	18,427
Rockford	21,197	22,362	40,454	42,278	43,339	45,415
Rock Island	7,100	7,469	12,464	12,746	12,418	11,839
Springfield	17,721	15,629	27,310	29,039	29,409	29,532
Waukegan	3,410	3,677	7,277	7,535	9,056	10,070
Total	\$213,706	\$217,341	\$361,562	\$375,929	\$382,168	\$400,551

*Compiled from annual data found in *Financial Statistics of Cities*, the *State and Municipal Compendium* of the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, and data obtained by personal visits to municipal offices.

APPENDIX B FUNDED INDEBTEDNESS OF TWENTY-FOUR CITIES, 1915-25*

City	1915	1917	1919	1921	1923	1925
Alton	\$ 93,500	\$ 49,800	\$ 36,100	\$ 211,900	\$ 218,200	\$ 423,000
Aurora	632,959	781,458	744,350	597,500	877,134	1,331,990
Belleville	302,500	268,500	403,000	349,000	295,000	241,000
Bloomington	615,000	620,000	563,500	610,000	514,000	454,000
Champaign	289,500	235,600	251,500	283,000	558,500	715,500
Chicago Heights	161,200	177,700	169,700	249,588	416,488	349,600
Danville	316,900	388,530	338,603	424,000	1,221,865	901,432
Decatur	634,000	891,000	1,017,600	2,055,900	2,134,465	2,497,426
East St. Louis	1,369,300	1,643,264	1,675,561	1,670,192	2,545,660	2,365,847
Elgin	230,000	248,000	206,000	316,000	530,000	1,146,000
Evanston	791,300	787,300	773,900	736,600	1,726,148	3,162,171
Freeport	303,000	282,000	221,500	234,750	234,000	666,000
Galesburg	173,500	151,000	143,000	160,000	245,000	225,000
Jacksonville	86,000	82,000	228,000	486,000	571,500	575,500
Joliet	361,543	348,253	312,500	516,200	965,280	1,637,150
Kewanee	79,500	137,500	127,000	208,500	495,500	459,000
Moline	561,500	573,500	498,000	522,500	446,836	386,061
Oak Park	744,465	852,335	829,635	1,157,520	2,233,499	2,850,925
Peoria	927,000	1,142,000	979,500	840,040	1,196,790	1,017,394
Quincy	368,000	478,000	253,500	231,800	231,500	162,500
Rockford	539,800	637,600	637,100	1,380,100	1,616,980	2,221,150
Rock Island	296,500	372,500	271,500	325,500	470,500	447,500
Springfield	1,036,200	1,325,085	1,343,345	1,054,455	1,675,150	1,666,459
Waukegan	357,000	293,100	278,800	741,100	1,297,000	1,441,200
Total	\$11,360,167	\$12,766,025	\$12,303,194	\$15,362,145	\$22,706,995	\$27,433,805

*Compiled from annual data found in *Financial Statistics of Cities*, the *State and Municipal Compendium* of the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, and data obtained by personal visits to municipal offices.

APPENDIX C TAX LEVIES OF TWENTY-FOUR CITIES, 1915-25*

City	1915	1917	1919	1921	1923	1925
Alton	\$ 205,930	\$ 242,275	\$ 329,297	\$ 457,165	\$ 479,762	\$ 581,336
Aurora	420,874	538,370	568,716	849,996	891,187	1,157,684
Belleville	238,107	266,634	414,307	456,830	488,801	504,825
Bloomington	427,967	439,215	554,032	793,250	818,650	837,102
Champaign	227,519	245,920	347,566	396,492	528,542	562,098
Chicago Heights	104,387	124,156	192,649	270,570	293,011	302,169
Danville	326,769	420,036	501,250	804,560	780,941	868,625
Decatur	446,485	524,990	553,823	1,165,956	1,261,322	1,241,270
East St. Louis	671,045	781,077	1,108,238	1,401,428	2,022,065	1,610,566
Elgin	323,900	399,285	482,987	739,804	851,402	950,012
Evanston	951,279	1,132,901	1,126,370	1,404,284	1,950,744	2,633,483
Freeport	559,075	275,394	362,215	423,947	471,985	516,243
Galesburg	330,012	345,932	497,573	586,961	612,735	655,363
Jacksonville	179,053	216,355	381,489	364,651	350,709	375,823
Joliet	452,533	669,863	716,542	901,095	1,029,456	1,139,818
Kewanee	149,203	149,925	204,529	274,931	305,602	326,417
Moline	342,069	395,429	613,541	698,473	725,409	825,418
Oak Park	743,488	939,869	1,508,520	1,479,077	1,885,531	2,068,252
Peoria	1,070,819	1,161,696	1,490,253	2,161,293	2,163,304	2,467,792
Quincy	446,469	459,898	467,847	780,192	912,631	919,595
Rockford	790,747	1,025,043	1,196,939	2,015,829	2,175,610	2,447,907
Rock Island	300,727	360,943	577,207	602,566	774,875	769,256
Springfield	845,455	960,974	1,098,005	1,603,969	1,599,825	1,792,571
Waukegan	207,195	273,077	456,060	696,497	757,580	995,909
Total	\$10,461,107	\$12,549,257	\$15,749,945	\$21,330,245	\$24,131,659	\$26,549,534

*Compiled from annual data found in *Financial Statistics of Cities, the State and Municipal Compendium of the Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, and data obtained by personal visits to municipal offices

APPENDIX D

SPECIAL ASSESSMENT DEBTS OF SEVENTEEN CITIES, 1915, 1917, 1919, 1923, 1925*

City	1915	1917	1919	1923	1925
Alton	\$ 261,200	\$ 331,500	\$ 341,500	\$ 215,800	\$ 452,300
Aurora	492,156	358,742	312,350	568,100	1,688,400
Champaign	40,000	376,000	310,200	578,100	944,300
Danville	459,499	427,596	384,285	90,287	1,109,287
Decatur	264,576	483,920	340,815	781,653	1,055,940
East St. Louis	1,030,400	857,304	921,170	662,805	1,169,554
Elgin	331,000	404,000	315,000	262,800	648,200
Evanston	355,630	480,558	633,634	954,652	1,152,328
Freeport	278,000	233,500	201,200	215,500	247,600
Joliet	185,200	630,300	747,800	1,596,200	1,392,000
Kewanee	98,200	65,500	127,100	65,600	85,400
Moline	576,000	667,000	585,300	791,300	1,056,000
Peoria	621,732	737,598	644,555	525,489	796,643
Quincy	47,200	32,800	4,200	549,000	735,100
Rockford	643,674	843,053	888,039	1,537,593	2,004,284
Rock Island	616,600	771,100	788,700	795,100	1,072,450
Springfield	160,641	93,945	75,071	458,176	756,860
Total	\$6,461,708	\$7,834,416	\$7,520,919	10,347,555	\$16,386,646

*Compiled from annual data found in *Financial Statistics of Cities, the State and Municipal Compendium of the Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, and data obtained by personal visits to municipal offices.

APPENDIX E

ANNUAL MUNICIPAL BOND SALES FOR ILLINOIS, NORTH CENTRAL STATES, AND THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE FOR SPECIFIED YEARS*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Illinois</i>	<i>North Central States</i>	<i>Country as a Whole</i>
1909	\$ 3,333,590	\$ 48,786,078	\$ 275,547,965
1910	12,527,982	60,418,624	258,949,877
1911	9,700,800	60,769,135	301,647,571
1912	4,714,500	76,731,062	301,815,554
1913	4,437,472	61,668,465	289,490,427
<i>Average</i>	6,942,870	61,674,673	285,490,279
1915	17,360,282	106,987,354	359,319,300
1916	10,428,450	90,697,353	310,129,000
1917	8,245,720	103,528,044	316,389,100
1918	6,787,950	64,636,967	196,285,900
1919	6,771,700	131,319,066	390,433,900
1920	22,308,000	195,681,463	461,219,000
1921	42,814,500	267,169,666	713,554,900
1922	27,462,000	224,750,327	743,280,000
1923	24,414,600	218,074,467	659,908,100
1924	31,587,770	224,571,397	942,613,300
1925	47,301,960	272,868,314	1,008,304,200

*These figures were taken from the *State and City Supplement or State and Municipal Compendium of the Commercial and Financial Chronicle* for the years mentioned

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• URBANA, ILLINOIS

TRADE UNIONISM IN THE ELECTRIC LIGHT AND POWER INDUSTRY

By
CHARLES FRANKLIN MARSH

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
URBANA

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PREFACE

Interest in the various phases of public utility economics has increased notably in recent years. The remarkable development of the electric light and power industry has made the economic problems of that industry of particular interest. Its labor problems, however, have received comparatively little attention. This has been particularly true of the question of trade unionism in the industry. There is a wide-spread opinion that the industry "has no labor problems" and that it has been exempt from the influence of unions.

There are several reasons for the prevalence of this opinion. In the first place, labor problems and union activities in other utility industries, especially the transportation industries, have attracted considerably more of the attention of the public than similar problems in the electric light and power industry. Secondly, there has been a tendency on the part of both union officials and central station employers to repress information concerning union activities among the workers of the industry.

In making this study, the writer has made no attempt to praise or condemn union activities. He has been concerned only with discovering the facts concerning union activities in the industry, together with the effect those activities have had upon the workers, the industry itself, and the public. It is an attempt to fill in an important gap which exists not only in the field of public utility economics but also in the field of labor problems in general.

The files of the "Official Journal" and the Reports of Officers of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Convention Proceedings of the National Electric Light Association, and the files of the *Electrical World* constituted the principal sources of this study. These, however, were supplemented by observation, and by personal interviews and correspondence with members and officers of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, as well as of other labor organizations, and with central station employers. In this regard, the writer wishes to express his gratitude for the assistance he has received from these individuals, particularly Mr. G. M. Bugnia-

zet, Secretary of the I B E W, and Mr W J. McPherson, Manager of Industrial Relations, Public Service Company of Northern Illinois

For helpful suggestions pertaining to the scope and organization of the study, the writer wishes to thank Dr E W Morehouse, of the Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities, Mr Fred Baxter, a former colleague and now an employee of the Public Service Company of Northern Illinois, and the members of the Economics Seminar at the University of Illinois. It is difficult to express his appreciation in an adequate manner to Professors Edward Berman and H M Gray, under whose direction this study was carried on. No student could have had more helpful, kinder criticism.

May, 1928

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Trade unionism aims to improve the condition of the workers in a particular trade by substituting collective bargaining for individual bargaining. By this process, it is hoped to remove the disadvantage under which the individual worker labors in determining the wages he shall receive, the hours which he shall work, and his other working conditions. This disadvantage exists, according to trade unionists and the majority of modern economists, because the worker must sell his services in order to exist, whereas the employer, ordinarily, loses only the possibility of a profit if the negotiations fail. This does not mean that collective bargaining is carried on only by trade unions, nor does it mean that all employers are so inspired by the profit motive that they take full advantage of their superior bargaining power. There is, nevertheless, no disputing the fact that the worker desires to sell his services for as high a price as possible and that the employer desires to keep his costs for labor, as well as for other factors of production, as low as possible. In the absence of an effective agency for collective bargaining, the employer is usually in a better position to accomplish his desires.

The success of trade unionism in an industry generally means that wages will be increased and other working conditions improved. The employer's cost of production will tend to be increased in like degree, unless the increased wages are accompanied by increased efficiency in production. Inasmuch as the cost of labor is an important element in the total cost of production and, hence, in the price of the product, the amount of such costs is bound to be of interest to the consuming public.

The relative success or failure of the organized labor movement in the electric light and power industry is of even greater importance than it is in many other industries. The remarkable development of the industry during its less than half a century of existence¹ has tended to increase the seriousness of labor

¹At the end of 1924, its plant and equipment were valued at approximately \$6,600,000,000. The steam railroad industry alone exceeded that figure. L. R. Nash, *Economics of Public Utilities*, pp. 3, 6. The value of plant and equipment exceeded \$8,000,000,000 at the end of 1927. See Table I, Appendix.

problems to everybody concerned—worker, employer, and consumer. The public utility nature of the business increases the interest of the latter in the accomplishments of trade unionism, in that higher electric rates are likely to result from increased wages. Moreover, the fact that the activities of trade unionists sometimes take the form of strikes or result in lockouts heightens public concern in those activities, as continuity of service is just as desirable as low rates. The problem of trade unionism in the electric light and power industry is not simply a problem of labor per se. It is not simply a problem in industrial management. It is one phase of the whole field of public utility economics.

It is the purpose of this study to investigate the activities of the various unions which have attempted to bargain collectively with the central station employers and attempt to estimate the effect of such activities upon the workers, the owners, and the public. In order to accomplish that purpose, however, some attention must be given to the development of the electric light and power industry and the place of the labor element in it.

PLACE OF LABOR IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDUSTRY

With the establishment of the Pearl Street Generating Station in New York City in 1882,² the electric light and power industry got under way. Although complete, authoritative data concerning its early development are lacking,³ it is evident that the industry did not evolve from the pioneering stage much before the close of the century.⁴ Economic problems during that early period were overshadowed by the necessity of making such technical improvements as would convince the public that electric light

²L. R. Nash, *Economics of Public Utilities*, p. 6.

³The first United States Census of Central Electric Light and Power Stations was taken in 1902.

⁴The files of the *Electrical World*, the leading journal in the field since it began publication in 1882, and the publications of the National Electric Light Association contain many references which support this conclusion. For instance, an editorial in the January 7, 1899, issue of the *Electrical World* (Vol. 33, No. 1, p. 2) called attention to the fact that the power sales of the industry were almost negligible. About a year later, an editorial in the same journal pointed out that the majority of the downtown buildings in New York City were lighted by their own private plants rather than by central stations.

and power was safe and useful. Relatively little consideration was given to the problem of the costs of production and distribution of electricity. The labor problem was of slight importance because the line between employer and employee in the small, isolated generating stations which were characteristic of the industry during this period was generally indistinct. Indeed, owner, engineer, troubleman, salesman, biller, and collector were often the same person in the smaller communities.

Since the early years of the new century, however, the industry has developed rapidly. During the twenty-year period from 1902 to 1922,⁵ the value of plant and equipment increased almost 800 per cent, revenues and expenses, approximately 1,150 per cent, and output in kilowatt hours, 1,500 per cent. Up to 1917, the total number of establishments, prime movers, and generators also increased, since then, consolidation and interconnection have reduced their numbers.

The number of persons employed in both the salaried and wage-earning groups of the industry has not increased in proportion to the general increase in the size of the industry, although there were approximately 400 per cent more employees in 1922 than in 1902. The average output in kilowatt hours per person employed in 1922 was almost three and one-half times as large as in 1902. Each person served almost twice as many customers in 1922 as in 1907, the first year in which a census was taken of the number of central station customers.⁶

Statistics of salaries and wages are also of significance in estimating the importance of the labor element in the industry. The Census Report for 1922 shows that salaries and wages were the most important item of the total expense and that they more than doubled between 1917 and 1922. In the latter year, they constituted 24.7 per cent of the total expenses⁷ whereas the cost of fuel and the amount of interest paid, the next most

⁵Although a census was taken in 1927, no reports have yet been issued. Consequently, the 1922 reports contain the latest official information.

⁶Tables I and II, Appendix, trace the development of the industry in the light of these various factors quinquennially from 1902 to 1922 and also include certain unofficial statistics for 1927. The latter indicates that the past five years have witnessed an even more remarkable growth than the previous quinquennial periods.

⁷Table III, Appendix, includes taxes, interest, and depreciation.

important items, amounted to only 18.9 per cent and 15.2 per cent, respectively. This ratio of salaries and wages to total expenses, however, was lower in 1922 than in any previous census year except 1917.⁸ It was lower, also, in the central station industry during the entire twenty-year period than in the electric railway and telephone industries. The relative importance of the total amount of salaries and wages can be shown in another way. Out of every dollar of income received during 1922, almost twenty cents was paid out in salaries and wages. This ratio of salaries and wages to total income was also lower in 1922 than in any previous year except 1917 and lower during the entire twenty-year period than in the other electrical industries.⁹

According to the census classification, the total number of employees and the total amount of salaries and wages are distributed among the following classes of workers: (1) officers, (2) superintendents and managers, (3) clerks, stenographers, and other salaried employees, and (4) wage-earners. The first two classes are not a part of the labor element, according to the generally accepted meaning of the term. Inasmuch as clerical workers are not ordinarily classed as "organizable," they too are outside the scope of this study.

Wage-earners, the remaining class, comprised 63.4 per cent of the total number of persons employed in the industry in 1922 and received 58.6 per cent of the total amount of salaries and wages.¹⁰ The Census Reports show that the trend in the number of wage-earners and in the amount of wages is downward, as is also the case with the total number of persons employed and the total amount of salaries and wages. The average output in kilowatt hours per wage-earner in 1922 was almost four times as large as in 1902. Each wage-earner served almost two and one-half times as many customers in 1922 as in 1907.¹¹

Wages amounted to 1.4 per cent of the total expenses¹² in 1922, being smaller than fuel costs and interest payments. Out

⁸The abnormally high cost of coal in 1917 was largely responsible for this low wage ratio. See Table III, Appendix.

⁹Table V, Appendix.

¹⁰Table VI, Appendix.

¹¹Table VII, Appendix.

¹²Table III, Appendix.

of every dollar of revenue slightly less than twelve cents was paid out in wages. Both ratios were smaller in 1922 than in any previous census year except 1917 and lower during the entire period covered by the Census Reports in the central station industry than in the other electrical industries.¹³ On the other hand, the amount of wages paid increased more rapidly than the number of wage-earners between 1902 and 1922, thus showing that the average wage increased steadily. The increase in the average wage was particularly large between 1917 and 1922. Each worker received, on the average, almost 60 per cent more wages in the latter year than he received in 1917.¹⁴

The above analysis does not give a complete picture of the part played by labor in the electric light and power industry. The Census Reports attempt to exclude "persons employed solely on new construction or extensions" for the reason that they were "engaged in the production of plant and equipment, not electric current, and their compensation was chargeable to the capital account, not to operating expenses."¹⁵

There are two reasons why any thorough study of the labor problems of this industry cannot entirely ignore construction labor. In the first place, the fact that electric rates are based very largely on the cost of plant and equipment—original, reproduction, or some combination of the two—means that labor costs, which bulk very large in the total construction costs, are of public concern. Secondly, the fact that the same type of workers is often engaged in both new construction and maintenance work makes it difficult to draw a sharp line of distinction between construction labor and maintenance labor. This is particularly true of linemen and cablesplitters.¹⁶

TYPES OF WORKERS

There are two broad classes of wage-earners in the industry: those engaged in construction, and those engaged in operation.

¹³Table VIII, Appendix.

¹⁴Table IX, Appendix.

¹⁵*Census of Central Electric Light and Power Stations, 1922*, p. 160.

¹⁶Considerable attention has been given to working out systems for separating line construction costs and allocating them to property and maintenance accounts. *Electrical World*, Vol. 86, No. 2, July 11, 1925, p. 73.

and maintenance. Construction work has been rather evenly divided in recent years between the erection of generating plants and the construction of transmission and distribution systems. During 1927, however, expenditures for transmission and distribution far exceeded those for generating plants, being almost 70 per cent of the total construction bill. Moreover, the construction estimate for 1928 shows a similar preponderance of transmission and distribution expenditures over power plant expenditures.¹⁷

Power-house construction work is performed by the various building trades workers, such as bricklayers, carpenters, electricians, etc. The power companies deal with these workers only indirectly, however, as practically all of this type of construction is let out to contractors or construction companies.¹⁸ Some of these companies, such as the Public Service Production Company of New Jersey, H. M. Bylesby Engineering and Management Corporation, and Stone and Webster, Inc., are closely related to many of the power companies for which they do construction work, but they are primarily construction rather than operating companies.

Transmission and distribution systems, on the other hand, are more often built by the central station companies themselves. Contractors who specialize in overhead and underground electric construction assist some of the operating companies in various parts of the country with this type of work. Only a few of the latter, however, let out all of their transmission and distribution construction work to contractors.¹⁹ It is evident that the central station industry is more directly interested in the workers engaged in this type of construction than in the power-house construction men.

¹⁷*Electrical World*, Vol. 91, No. 1, January 7, 1928, p. 42.

¹⁸J. P. Noonan, President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers—*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1925, p. 11.

¹⁹The Edison Electric Illuminating Co. of Boston is apparently one of these exceptions. Vice-President Smith of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers reports that practically all of this company's line work is done by the George W. Ellis Co. *Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1927, p. 60. In 1923, the Sugden Co. did most of its cable work. Vice-President Smith—*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1925, p. 60.

Operating activities also can be divided into these same two classes—namely, production and distribution. “The production department,” according to one utility official,²⁰ “is responsible for delivering the kilowatt of energy to the transmission lines at the generating plants. The distribution department begins at this point and distributes the current to the ultimate consumer.” A third type of activity is sometimes mentioned. It is given some such name as “utilization” and includes meter and trouble work. This is but one phase, however, of distribution, as defined above.

Although no two companies use exactly the same nomenclature, the power-house or production workers can be grouped into four classes: engineers and switchboard operators, firemen, oilers, and water-tenders, electricians, mechanics, and other repairmen, and miscellaneous helpers. The work of distribution is carried on very largely by the following groups: linemen, groundmen, and helpers, cable splicers and helpers, sub-station operators, meter-installers and testers, and troublemen.

Data concerning the relative importance of these two broad classes of workers, either as to number of employees or wages paid, are so fragmentary and incomplete that they are of little value. Nevertheless, certain conclusions can be drawn with safety from the facts relating to the general development of the industry.

As the isolated steam generating plants of the early days have given way to great central stations, both steam and hydro-electric, the relative importance of station employees has decreased. This tendency has been accelerated by the increased use of labor-saving devices within the plants. As early as 1912, an editorial in the *Electrical World* noted this as follows:

The gradual introduction of turbo units and the use of motor operated valves are tending to facilitate the handling of the steam end of the plant with fewer men. The introduction of mechanical stokers in the boiler room part of the plant has tended to reduce the number of firemen. It is coming to be realized that enormous increases in output can be handled without additions to the number of men required to operate the installation. Frequently the capacity of a moderate-sized plant can be practically doubled by this means with little

²⁰G. H. Middlemiss, Alabama Power Co., *Electrical World*, Vol. 90, No. 7, August 13, 1927, p. 305.

or no attention to the force of employees. Repeated analyses of production costs in stations rated at from 3,000 KW to 7,000 KW, under favorable conditions of machinery arrangement, indicate that with the natural development of the business a labor cost of 0.10 to 0.15¢ per kilowatt-hour should be attained, although two or three times that unit expense at present is common.²¹

The effect of hydraulic developments upon labor requirements is illustrated by the experience of the Iowa Railway and Light Company. In 1921, this company decided to make all of its hydraulic developments automatic because the three and one-half years of operation of its automatic station at Cedar Rapids had proved so successful. It was estimated that the annual labor charge would have been at least \$3,600 with a hand-controlled station whereas the actual labor cost of the automatic station was only \$178 a year.²²

This decrease in the relative number of production employees and in the relative labor costs, however, has been accompanied by an increase in the actual importance of each worker. Technical improvements have necessitated a more skilled and better trained working force, especially in the steam end of generating plants.

Developments in the industry have had a somewhat different effect upon labor conditions in the distribution departments, with the exception of sub-station operation. Automatic sub-stations have demonstrated their ability to reduce labor costs markedly. Increased wages and labor troubles of the war period gave a great impetus to their installation and use.²³ In practically all of the other departments of the industry which are concerned with distributing electricity from the generating plants to the consumers, labor requirements have tended to increase.

The abandonment of isolated generating stations in favor of the larger steam plants and hydro-electric developments and the general extension of electric service have necessitated the construction of new transmission lines.²⁴ New distribution systems

²¹*Electrical World*, Vol. 60, No. 20, November 16, 1912, pp. 1031-2.

²²*Ibid.*, Vol. 77, No. 22, May 28, 1921, p. 1235.

²³*Ibid.*, Vol. 74, No. 4, July 26, 1919, p. 203.

²⁴The length of transmission lines in the United States increased from 86,290 circuit miles in 1922 to 140,900 circuit miles in 1928. *Electrical World*, Vol. 91, No. 1, January 7, 1928, p. 32.

have been built and old systems extended to take care of the vastly increased number of customers²⁵ Traffic requirements and standards of safety and civic beauty have necessitated the reconstruction of existing systems in many localities. These developments have naturally enhanced the demand for line and cable construction and maintenance workers. An *Electrical World* editorial commented on the situation, as it existed in 1925, as follows

An analysis of budget expenditures by light and power companies shows a marked increase in the money appropriated for the distribution system The past two years witnessed a very large building program in generation and transmission, and it is natural now to turn to the distribution system and increase its capacity to correspond Another factor is the necessity to remodel and rebuild old distribution systems which grew in a hit-or-miss fashion and now prove uneconomical and inadequate Yet the distribution system is the part of the system which present prices of material and labor affect most seriously and it is of great importance to invest the expenditures efficiently In generating stations, larger units serve to reduce costs per unit of capacity, and in transmission high voltages permit investments to be reduced per unit of capacity, but there are few developments in distribution practices to offset the increased price levels of the present day Scattered loads, small transformers and low load factors, low voltages and higher service standards work to make distribution costs very large²⁶

Labor costs have formed an important part of the total distribution cost and the trend has been almost steadily upward since the war period²⁷ Comparatively little progress has been made in the development of labor-saving devices in the field of line and cable construction, though many companies have been experi-

²⁵Tables I and II, Appendix

²⁶*Electrical World*, Vol 85, No 13, March 28, 1925, p 653 About a year later, Governor Trumbull of Connecticut, who is also an electrical equipment manufacturer, gave this warning "The electrical industry's unique position in furnishing service at a cost so low in proportion to the cost of other commodities cannot be maintained indefinitely unless the increasing cost of distribution is lessened The point is now reached by manufacturers and utilities where the cost of production has decreased until it is but a small portion, whereas the cost of distribution has risen at a much faster rate A greater number of customers should theoretically not increase the cost of delivery, but this is the situation" *Electrical World*, Vol 87, No 19, May 8, 1926, p 967

²⁷*Ibid*, Vol 88, No 13, September 25, 1926, p 656

menting with various devices and efficiency studies in the attempt to reduce such costs

The increased number of customers and higher service standards in the industry have greatly increased labor requirements in those departments which have direct relations with customers, such as the meter and trouble departments. There has been little opportunity for the use of labor-saving devices in these departments, except in so far as automobiles may be used to reduce the number of men whose work necessitates their calling on customers.

The above discussion can be summarized in a few words. The number of wage-earners in the industry has shown a steady increase; it has decreased, however, relative to the output in kilowatt-hours and to the number of customers served. Labor requirements in the two broad departments of the industry—production and distribution—have not been affected in the same manner. Certain factors have tended to reduce the relative number of engineers, firemen, oilers, and other workers engaged in producing electricity. They are as follows: first, interconnection and the accompanying decrease in the number of generating stations, second, the introduction of labor-saving devices within steam generating plants, third, hydro-electric developments. At the same time, interconnection, higher service standards, and the increased number of customers have tended to increase the relative number of linemen, metermen, troublemen, and others engaged in distributing electric service.

The average wage of the central station worker has increased steadily. The extent to which this general increase in wages has been due to the activities of the trade unions in the field is one of the chief subjects of this study. Inasmuch as there is no one union which claims jurisdiction over all of the workers in the industry, attention must be given to the trade unions which claim jurisdiction over the various types of central station employees, their nature and relative importance in the industry, and the degree to which they merit the attention of this study.

TRADE UNIONS IN THE FIELD

1 *Building Trade Unions*—The various building trade unions, for the most part, have a rather indirect relation to the

industry. Large numbers of their members—carpenters, bricklayers, electricians, etc.—are almost exclusively engaged in power-house and sub-station work, but they are employed by construction companies more often than by the power companies.²⁸

The union labor situation in the power-house construction industry does not differ materially from the situation in other branches of the construction industry. That is, the workers are strongly organized, for the most part, often have union-shop or "closed shop" agreements with the companies, and receive relatively high wages.²⁹

Most of the larger power companies employ a small number of building tradesmen regularly for repair and maintenance work on various company buildings. Occasionally, they hire a relatively large number of men for some special construction or repair job. In general, however, building trades workers are not an important part of the operating personnel of the electric light and power industry. The few that are hired directly by these companies are usually members of the various unions. Problems relating to these laborers are primarily building trades labor problems and, hence, are outside the scope of this study.

Electricians, naturally, have had a somewhat closer relation to the industry than other building tradesmen have had, some attention will be given to them in the latter part of this chapter.³⁰

2 *International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers*—According to the Constitution of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers, it claims jurisdiction over the following workers: "All those engaged in the operation of steam boilers, stationary, marine, Diesel, portable, hoisting and electric engines, gas engines or any machine that may displace the steam engine, irrespective of its motive power. All hoisting and portable engines and boilers on building and construction work, when operated by steam, electricity, or compressed air, including pumps, siphons, etc."³¹

²⁸See n 18

²⁹*Ibid*

³⁰See pp 28-30

³¹*Handbook of American Trade Unions*, October, 1926 U S Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No 420, p 27

It is evident that power-house engineers come under the jurisdiction of this union. According to the General Secretary-Treasurer of the union, about 4,500 of the total membership of 40,000 are employed in central electric light and power stations. Some are chief engineers, others are assistant engineers, and a few are plant superintendents.³²

At the American Federation of Labor Convention of 1896, there were four engineers in attendance representing other trades. They conceived the idea of a separate union for engineers and called a meeting in St. Louis December 7 of that same year, at which time the "National Steam Engineers Union" was established. In 1905, the name of the organization was changed to "International Union of Steam Engineers" to permit the expansion of the union into Canada. Another change in name occurred in 1913, when it became the "International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers." The reason for this change has been described as follows:

It became manifest, in the course of time, as the developments of power-plant engineering more and more introduced other motive agencies—the internal-combustion engine, the water turbine, the electric motor—in situations where steam power had previously held undisputed sway, that the original limitations, both as to nomenclature used in defining the body and the engineering activities coming within its purview would have to be extended if the organization was to continue, in very fact, as an all-embracing fraternity of operating engineers. Thus, it came about that our union's baptismal name was eventually altered to its present form.³³

This expansion of the jurisdiction of the engineers' union was strenuously opposed by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers³⁴ on the ground that it would deprive them of their control over the operation of electrical machinery in generating stations and sub-stations and cause the transfer of many of their members to the engineers' union. The dispute was finally terminated by action of the 1922 Convention of the American Federation of Labor in favor of the International

³²Communication from Mr. Dave Evans, General Secretary-Treasurer, International Union Steam and Operating Engineers, January 16, 1928. Table X, Appendix, shows growth in membership of Union.

³³*International Engineer*, January, 1927, p. 38.

³⁴The International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers also opposed this expansion. See pp. 27-28.

Brotherhood of Electrical Workers That is, it was decided that all electrical installations, electrical repairs, overhauling of general electrical apparatus in generating stations and sub-stations, and the operation of electrically driven machines in the afore-mentioned plants or stations would properly remain within the jurisdiction of the Electrical Workers Switchboard operators were the principal class of workers affected The ruling also emphasized the fact that the Engineers should have absolute jurisdiction over operating steam generating plants In a few instances, the Electrical Workers had taken steam engineers into their organization³⁵

It has already been noted that interconnection and the development of hydro-electric stations have forced some engineers out of the electric light and power industry Indeed, much of the activity of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers in past years has been directed toward making consolidation difficult in the attempt to check the inroads of central station service upon production of light and power by the isolated plant In 1912, it was noted that "private monopoly today threatens the very life of our calling The gallant fight which our men in New York have been putting up, with what aid our executive officers could lend them, against the Edison Electric Light and Power Monopoly represents only the first onset That such a danger confronts us at all marks, it is not impossible, a new era in the history of steam and electrical engineering"³⁶

During the next few years, many attempts were made by the union to show that isolated plants could not only meet central station competition but could actually produce electric current at lower unit cost than central stations³⁷ In recent years, however, such attempts have been discontinued, and attention has

³⁵*Proceedings, 42nd Convention, A F of L, 1922*, pp 128-130, 404-410

³⁶*International Steam Engineer*, September, 1912, p 169 The steam engineers were active members of a citizens' committee which sought to prevent the N Y Edison Co from securing control over the Long Acre Electric Light and Power Co and thus eliminating competition in that section They were successful for a short time only The attempts of unions to influence public opinion on matters affecting the central station industry are described in considerable detail in Chapter IV

³⁷*Ibid*, October, 1912, p 241, July, 1913, p 14, August, 1913, p 103, September, 1916, p 179

been turned to developing new fields in which the steam and operating engineer may work.³⁸

Those who have remained in the central station industry have necessarily become more skillful and have assumed greater responsibility as steam generating units have increased in size and complexity. Many states require such engineers to have licenses. In such states, membership in the union is granted only to those who have complied with the state law.³⁹ Further evidence of the high level of skill and training required is found in the fact that the largest central stations in the country generally require a high-school or technical school education.⁴⁰ For this reason, engineers, as a class, are probably the highest paid wage-earners in the industry. Indeed, some of them, notably chief engineers and plant superintendents, rightly belong in the managerial rather than the wage-earning group of employees.

The International Union, on the whole, has been rather conservative in its relations with central station employers. Many of its members also hold membership in the National Association of Stationary Engineers, a professional and educational organization of operating engineers and power-plant supply salesmen, which has maintained an anti-strike attitude for many years. In 1907, a writer in the *Electrical World*, a journal which generally mirrors the point of view of the central station employer, made the following comment:

Stationary engineers, through their organizations, have shown the most friendly disposition toward employers and have also shown exceptional broadmindedness and fairness in dealing with the question of wages for engineers. The National Association of Stationary Engineers has the distinction of being the only organization of workers that positively declares against any methods akin to strikes or agitation, or compulsion of any kind in an effort to raise wages. It declares in favor of increasing wages by increasing efficiency and earning capacity.⁴¹

The declaration referred to was made by President Tomlinson of the National Association of Stationary Engineers before

³⁸*International Engineer*, November, 1927, p. 413.

³⁹*Handbook of American Trade Unions*, October, 1926. U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 420, p. 20.

⁴⁰Report of Prime Movers Committee, National Electric Light Association *Proceedings, 48th Convention, N. E. L. A.*, 1925, pp. 1292-8.

⁴¹Wm. Westerfield (Communication)—*Electrical World*, Vol. 50, No. 10, September 7, 1907, p. 465.

a convention of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance, an anti-union organization, in December, 1905.⁴² The officers of the International Union of Steam Engineers immediately denounced this anti-strike attitude and urged its members either to change the policy of the NASE to conform to the principles of trade unionism or resign their membership in the latter organization.⁴³ The conservative policy of the National Association, however, has been maintained down to the present day,⁴⁴ moreover, many engineers have retained their membership in both the trade union and the more conservative professional association.⁴⁵

A further indication of the conservative nature of the International Union is found in a recent statement of one of its officers to the effect that there has never been a "strike of any consequence in any Central Electric Light and Power Company."⁴⁶ That this statement is somewhat exaggerated, however, is shown by the fact that members of the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers struck against the Kansas City (Missouri) Power and Light Company in 1917⁴⁷ and against the Union Electric Light Company of St. Louis in 1919.⁴⁸

Speaking of the strength of the union in the central station industry, this same official has written "The 4,500 members employed in Central Stations constitute a large per cent of the engineers employed in plants of this kind. This industry is better organized than ever before."⁴⁹

⁴²*International Steam Engineer*, May, 1906, p. 507.

⁴³Report of President Comerford, IUSE—*International Steam Engineer*, October, 1906, p. 386. The question was again discussed at the 1912 Convention of IUSE. *Ibid.*, October, 1912, p. 231.

⁴⁴Each issue of the official journal contains this statement "This association shall at no time be used for the furtherance of strikes or for the purpose of interfering in any way between its members and their employers in regard to wages, recognizing the identity of interests between employer and employee and not countenancing any project or enterprise that will interfere with perfect harmony between them" *National Engineer*, Vol. 31, No. 12, December, 1927, opposite p. 608.

⁴⁵Dave Evans, General Secretary-Treasurer, IUS and OE Communication, January 30, 1928.

⁴⁶Dave Evans, Communication, January 16, 1928.

⁴⁷*International Steam Engineer*, October, 1917, p. 247.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, January, 1919, p. 40.

⁴⁹Dave Evans, Communication, January 16, 1928.

Although this statement appears to be somewhat exaggerated,⁵⁰ there is, nevertheless, reason to believe that some central station companies are comparatively well organized as far as power-plant engineers are concerned.

Because of the relatively small number of employees who are classified as central station engineers, however, and because of the fact that many of them are almost as much a part of the management group as they are wage-earners, the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers cannot be considered to be representative of the great body of wage-earners in the industry. This organization will receive further treatment in this study only in so far as it concerns the other and more representative unions in the industry.

3 *International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers*—"Boiler firemen, retort firemen, water tenders, boiler-washers, helpers, oilers, ash handlers, coal passers, stoker firemen, stoker helpers, roundhouse and railroad shop helpers and laborers" are included within the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers.⁵¹ This organization claims jurisdiction over the most numerous class of workers in the production end of the electric light and power industry. These workers belong to the wage-earning class in a truer sense than the engineers. There are no apprenticeship requirements and "any trustworthy person employed within the jurisdiction is eligible to membership."⁵²

Figures concerning the proportion of the total membership of 17,000⁵³ which is employed in central stations are not available. That it is relatively small, however, is indicated by the report of President Timothy Healy to the 1921 Convention of the Union. He took up the condition of union firemen and oilers in the railroad, packing, paper making, textiles, and brewing and beverage industries in some detail. The central station industry was mentioned only as one of a group of other industries, as

⁵⁰The files of the *International Steam Engineer*, official journal of the Union, and correspondence with certain companies indicate that engineers in the central stations of New York, Chicago, Boston, and Milwaukee, at least, have never been organized to any great extent.

⁵¹*Handbook of American Trade Unions*, October, 1926. U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 420, p. 49.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁵³*Ibid.*

follows. "In the past two years, we have been successful in bettering conditions of our men and getting agreements with many other lines of business outside of those above mentioned such as electric light plants, gas works, water works, ice plants, creameries, factories of different descriptions, hotels, office buildings, theaters, etc."⁶⁴

This union was organized, under the name of the "International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen," December 18, 1898, during the 18th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor at Kansas City, Missouri. Nine American Federation of Labor locals of firemen, having a combined membership of 444, were turned over to the new international union at that time.⁶⁵ The first organization of firemen and oilers, however, came into existence in 1882 when the Knights of Labor organized Local Assembly No. 3129 in New York City. Engineers were also members of that assembly. It became Local No. 56 of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen shortly after the organization of the latter.⁶⁶

In 1901, the constitution of the international body was changed to cover firemen, water tenders, boiler washers, oilers, ash wheelers, and coal passers. In 1919, the name was changed to International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers.

The membership grew rapidly during the first few years, as there were 11,872 members at the time of the 1903 Convention.⁶⁷ That the electric light and power industry sensed this growth was evidenced by the fact that the problem of unionization of firemen was discussed at some length at the 1905 Convention of the National Electric Light Association.⁶⁸

⁶⁴Report of President, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, June, 1921—*Firemen and Oilers Journal*, June, 1921, p. 2.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁶⁶*Stationary Firemen's Journal*, May, 1917, p. 13.

⁶⁷*Firemen and Oilers Journal*, May, 1921, p. 4. Table X, Appendix shows growth in membership from 1899 to 1927.

⁶⁸Mr. W. P. Hancock, of the Edison Electric Illuminating Co., of Boston, read a paper on "The Organization of Working Forces in Large Power Houses." Speaking of firemen, he said, "We want men who are free from any connection with any organization that would interfere with men that are getting satisfactory wages and treatment and are contented."

The union scale in Boston is \$14 a week (for firemen). The dele-

The progress of the union was much slower in later years. The membership in 1915 was only about 3,000 larger than in 1903. Moreover, the turnover was very great, as many retained their membership only a short time and then dropped out. President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, addressed the 1915 Convention of the Brotherhood and criticized the organization because of its small increase and large turnover in membership. He pointed out the fact that, while 9,000 joined the union between the 1913 and 1915 Conventions, the net increase in membership was only about 1,000.⁵⁹

Like most trade unions in the United States, membership increased during the war period.⁶⁰ Most of these gains were wiped out during the post-war depression of 1921-1923 and the membership totalled only 17,000 in October, 1926, as noted above. At that time, these members were distributed among 820 local unions situated in all of the states of this country, the District of Columbia and the eastern provinces of Canada.⁶¹

- Much of what was said concerning the effect of interconnection and the decrease in the number of electric generating stations upon the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers applies in like manner to the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers. The relative importance of the latter type of workers in the central station industry has also decreased. This decrease has been accelerated by the introduction of mechanical stokers in practically all central stations.⁶²

This has naturally affected the union adversely, yet some of its local organizations have retained enough strength to pro

gates of the unions call on me and when I tell them that we are paying a better scale of wages than they are, and as a rule we have a better class of men, they have nothing to say." Most of the ensuing discussion was of a similar nature and dealt with ways and means of keeping men out of the unions. *Proceedings of the 28th Convention, NELA*, 1905, pp. 116-135.

⁵⁹"Proceedings, 13th Biennial Convention of the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, August, 1915," *Stationary Firemen's Journal*, September, 1915, p. 20.

⁶⁰See Table X, Appendix.

⁶¹*Handbook of American Trade Unions*, October, 1926. U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 420, p. 50.

⁶²See p. 15.

cure signed agreements with various electric light and power companies in recent years. Most of these agreements provided for increased wages. Union officials, however, have taken great pride in what the union has accomplished in reducing the working hours of firemen, oilers, and helpers. As early as 1902, the firemen employed by the Rochester (N.Y.) Railway and Light Company, after a strike of three days, were granted an eight hour day instead of the twelve hours formerly in effect.⁶³ This type of activity still claimed the attention of union firemen in 1918, when a newly-organized local in Fairmont, West Virginia signed a contract with the Monongahela Valley Traction and Light Company which reduced hours from twelve to eight.⁶⁴

Technical developments within the industry and the active opposition of many central station employers to the unionization of their firemen and other employees have impeded the progress of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers. Jurisdictional disputes with the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers have constituted an even greater obstacle. Such disputes between the two international bodies flourished from the organization of the firemen in 1898 down to March 1916, when an agreement was reached.

The Engineers insisted that firemen, oilers, and helpers were nothing more than apprentice engineers and admitted them to membership in their union. In 1913, they began to organize Apprentice Local Unions in localities where locals of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers already existed. When taken to task by the American Federation of Labor for infringing upon the jurisdiction of the firemen's union, the Engineers declared that they could look after the interests of such workers better than the firemen's union could look after them. They urged the latter to amalgamate with the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers. President Gompers, at the request of the 1914 Convention of the American Federation of Labor, attended the convention of the firemen's organization in August 1915, to ascertain the opinion of that union concerning amalgamation with the Engineers. The vote against amalgamation was unanimous. Delegate Holland of New York explained the at

⁶³*Stationary Firemen's Journal*, June, 1917, p. 27.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, September, 1918, p. 5.

titude of his union as follows "The Firemen will follow a Fireman where they will not an Engineer . . . The Engineer of this country is the employer of the Fireman, he hires and discharges him . . . The first duty of the Engineer is to curtail expenses for his employer. And how does he curtail? He does it by cutting down the wages of the employee under him, the Fireman, the man who wheels the ashes, or the oiler."⁶⁵

The next convention of the American Federation of Labor ordered the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers to withdraw "apprentice" charters and cease their attempts to organize the firemen.⁶⁶ The dispute ended officially with the drawing up of an agreement between the two organizations March 24, 1916. This agreement affirmed the rights and jurisdiction of each and recommended the establishment of joint boards by locals of the two unions whose members were employed by the same companies.⁶⁷ It did not, however, do away with all ill feeling between firemen and engineers, and the strength of each union has been seriously affected. The firemen have been more seriously affected than the engineers because of the fact that they are farther down the scale in skill, and hence do not occupy as strong a position in the central station industry or any of the other industries which employ both firemen and engineers.

The International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers is more representative of the entire body of workers in the industry than the engineers' union, as its members are wage-earners in a true sense and are in no way a part of the management group of employees. Yet the decrease in the relative importance of firemen, oilers, and helpers in the electric light and power industry and the small proportion of the total membership of the union which is employed in that industry make an intensive investigation of its activities of little value in this study. Hence, further treatment of this union will be only of an incidental nature.

4 *International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers*—The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers divides the work-

⁶⁵"Proceedings, 13th Biennial Convention, International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen, August, 1915," *op cit*, September, 1915, pp. 20-23.

⁶⁶*Proceedings, 35th Convention, A F of L*, 1915, p. 345.

⁶⁷*Stationary Firemen's Journal*, April, 1916, p. 9.

ers within its jurisdiction into four general classes, as follows. outside electrical workers, inside electrical workers, shop electrical workers, and railroad electrical workers

Outside electrical workers include "linemen, outside electrical inspectors, outside cable splicers, trimmers, maintenance men, aerial and underground cable men and combination troublemen working for distribution companies, load despatchers, metermen, station attendants and switchboard operators in central lighting and power stations, telephone switchboard operators and troublemen working for distributing companies, fire and police operators, maintenance and battery men, signal men, electrical layout and operating engineers and electrical railgrinders, foremen, groundmen, helpers and others engaged on line construction work"

Inside electrical workers include, among others, wiremen, load despatchers, troublemen, switchboard operators and erectors, operating engineers, inside cable splicers, and meter-testers and installers Shop and railroad electrical workers have jurisdiction over employees of electrical manufacturing companies and railroad companies, respectively, and hence, have no direct relation to the electric light and power industry⁶⁸

It is apparent that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers includes within its jurisdiction practically all of the central station workers who are engaged in the distribution of electric service It has already been pointed out⁶⁹ that developments in the industry have tended to increase the relative importance of such workers This fact alone would seem to make this union the most representative labor organization in the electric light and power industry Such a conclusion appears to have even greater validity when it is realized that the union also claims jurisdiction over certain workers in the production end of the industry, such as switchboard operators, electricians, and other station attendants Data are too incomplete to warrant a definite, unqualified statement concerning the numerical strength of the union in the electric light and power industry⁷⁰

⁶⁸*Handbook of American Trade Unions*, October, 1926 U S Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No 420, pp 22-24

⁶⁹See pp 16-18

⁷⁰On May 15, 1927, local unions in twenty-six cities reported a total membership of 3,464 linemen and cable splicers, practically all of whom

Most of the union members employed in the industry are linemen, groundmen, and helpers. Cable splicers and helpers, sub-station operators, metermen, and troublemen are the other classes of central station employees with which this study is primarily concerned. In the early days of the industry, central station employees wired residences and other buildings for prospective customers. Very few electric light and power companies employ wiremen for such purposes today, however, as this class of work has been turned over to independent contractors. Some inside wiremen are employed almost exclusively in power-house and sub-station construction and are on the regular payroll of some of the larger power companies or their affiliated construction companies. Others are employed regularly as station electricians. For the most part, however, inside wiremen are outside the scope of this study.

In order to get a proper background for a study of the activities of union linemen and other central station electrical workers, it is necessary to give some attention to the general history of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.⁷¹

Telegraph linemen were classed as "sojourners" in some of the local assemblies of the Knights of Labor as early as 1876.

were light and power workers—*Union Scales of Wages and Hours of Labor*, Bulletin No. 457, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, pp. 1, 165-166. Secretary G. M. Bugniet of the IBEW estimates that 60,000 members are in the employ of public utilities—*Communication*, April 2, 1927. Very few union workers are now employed by telephone companies. Electric railway companies employ a smaller number of electrical workers than do power companies. F. C. Huse, an officer of Local No. 193, Springfield, Illinois, and a veteran electrical worker, estimates that outside union electrical workers in the central station industry number about 50,000—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, March, 1927, p. 145. (Volume numbers of this journal are too irregular to warrant their being listed.) After careful consideration of these and other relevant data, it is the writer's opinion that the correct number is somewhere between 10,000 and 20,000.

⁷¹The ensuing discussion of the history of the Brotherhood is based very largely on a more detailed study made in 1923 by M. A. Mulcaire and entitled *The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, a Study in Trade Union Structure and Functions*, Catholic University of America Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. V, pp. 2-22. Practically all of these facts, however, have been verified by a study of the files of the official journal of the Brotherhood.

An organization known as the United Order of Linemen was formed at Denver in 1884. This was composed entirely of linemen, organized on the principle of a secret society, and unaffiliated with any other labor organization. It never made much headway east of Denver, and by 1890 only a few lodges on the Pacific Coast were in existence.

In the fall of 1890, it was decided to make electricity the leading feature of the St. Louis exposition. Electrical workers from all over the country were attracted to St. Louis by the opportunities thus offered and found work erecting the lines and wiring the booths and other displays of the exposition. Many of them had had previous union experience in the Knights of Labor and the United Order of Linemen. Realization of the fact that linemen and wiremen, though following a hazardous occupation which required considerable skill, occupied no more favorable a position than did unskilled workers led to some discussion as to the feasibility of organizing a union. An American Federation of Labor organizer was called in and a union of these St. Louis wiremen and linemen was formed. It was chartered as Wiremen's and Linemen's Union No. 5221 of the American Federation of Labor, September 20, 1890.

Within a few months, the officers of this local union saw that little progress could be made in gaining concessions from employers without the assistance of a national organization. The linemen were employed largely by corporations operating throughout the entire country. Under such conditions, an independent local union was practically helpless to enforce its demands. Accordingly, Henry Miller, president of the St. Louis local, appointed a committee to agitate for such an organization. Circulars were sent to electrical workers throughout the country and Mr. Miller personally visited a number of cities. He succeeded in organizing a few locals.

Delegates from locals in St. Louis, Evansville, Indianapolis, Toledo, and Chicago answered the call of the mother local for a convention at St. Louis in November, 1891. Philadelphia, Milwaukee, and Duluth were represented by proxy. Approximately three hundred electrical workers were represented. After some deliberation, on November 26, 1891, the National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America came into existence.

The growth of the union is indicated in Table I. Intense organizing activities on the part of the original members brought about a marked increase in membership during the first year. The panic of 1893 and internal dissension arising, during the

TABLE I
GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF
ELECTRICAL WORKERS*

1891	286	1900	4 290	1911	6 500
1892	2 011	1901	4 886	1913	23 500
1893	2 052	1902	8 612	1915	35 553
1894	983	1903	9 922	1917	57 112
1895	1 053	1904	18 341	1919	121 792
1896	1 164	1905	24 200	1921	100 000
1897	1 711	1906	30 793	1923	69 200
1898	971	1907	29 971	1926	140 000
1899	1 716	1909	9 000	1928	140 000

*The data for the years 1891-1921 are taken from a table which appears on pp. 21 and 22 of Mr Mulcaire's study (*op cit*, p. 71 above). He explains that, except for 1909, 1911, and 1913, the figures were taken from the Reports of the International Secretary. As no official figures were published during the secession, the figures given for 1909, 1911, and 1913 are only estimates arrived at by dividing the total per capita tax by the amount which each member was obliged by the Constitution to pay annually. The 1923 figures were obtained from the Report of the Secretary—*Report of Officers, IBEW*, August, 1923, p. 23. The 1925 and 1927 Reports of the Secretary do not give membership figures. The 1926 figure comes from the *Handbook of American Trade Unions*, p. 25. The 1928 figure is that given by Secretary G. M. Bugniet in a communication addressed to the author written January 20, 1928.

next few years, from the disputes between linemen's locals and wiremen's locals concerning jurisdiction over other classes of electrical workers almost destroyed the union. It seemed to have weathered these difficulties, however, by 1899.

At the convention of that year, the territorial jurisdiction of the Brotherhood was extended to include the Dominion of Canada. At this time, also, the name was changed to "International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers." This action accounts for the increase during the next year.

The 1903 Convention voted a full-time salary to the President of the Brotherhood and raised the salaries of other officers. This action marked the transformation of the International from a weak, decentralized association to a strong, integrated organization. Under the old conditions, illegal and unsuccessful strikes had been common and employers everywhere were unwilling to sign agreements with local unions because they had little confidence in their ability and willingness to live up to them.⁷² Presi-

⁷²*Proceedings, 8th Convention, IBEW*, 1903, pp. 196-204.

dent McNulty, elected at the 1903 Convention, was determined to enforce the provisions of the Constitution at all costs, especially those relating to relations with employers. Infractions were punished promptly, the number of strikes was reduced, and the union grew in strength. During the three-year period, 1903-1906, the membership increased from less than 10,000 to more than 30,000.

Internal dissension, however, also increased during this period. The 1903 Convention adopted the District Council plan of government in the attempt to strengthen the local unions in bargaining with employers, as many of the latter, particularly telephone and power companies, operated in more than one city. Local unions in different localities were urged to unite in the formation of district councils in their respective territories.⁷³ Inasmuch as some of the more powerful local unions refused to affiliate with the councils, the 1905 Convention made it compulsory for each local to join the council established in its district.⁷⁴ This action naturally increased the importance of these councils and, in some cases, their officers assumed such control that the influence of the International officers became only nominal. Such decentralization of control, making the enforcement of necessary discipline impossible, made it easy for dissension to spread among the membership. The underlying cause of this internal trouble appears to have been the traditional rivalry between the two chief classes of electrical workers, inside and outside men, over jurisdictional matters.

Open dissension broke out in November, 1907, when Grand Treasurer Sullivan was removed from office for certain irregularities. He and certain disappointed office-seekers began an insurrectionary campaign against the other officers of the International Brotherhood, particularly Grand President McNulty. Their activities were largely unorganized, however, until September, 1908, when 193 delegates, representing as many local unions, convened in St. Louis and undertook to carry on the business of the Brotherhood, depose the McNulty administration, and elect new officers. Mr. J. J. Reid was elected president.

⁷³*Proceedings, 8th Convention, I B E W*, 1903, pp. 204-205.

⁷⁴*Proceedings, 9th Convention, I B E W*, 1905, pp. 22, 311, also Article XXVI, *Constitution, I B E W*, 1905.

For the next five years, the contest raged between the so-called "Reid Electrical Workers" or "seceders" and the "McNulty Electrical Workers" or "regulars" for the control of the Brotherhood. More attention was given to this controversy by the members of the local unions than to bettering their working conditions, with the result that practically no progress was made by organized electrical workers as a whole. Though no reliable figures can be obtained regarding the membership of either faction during the secession, it is generally admitted that the Reid faction at one time controlled more than three-fourths of the organized electrical workers in the country.⁷⁶

Although the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor recognized the McNulty faction as the legitimate organization of Electrical Workers from almost the beginning of the controversy,⁷⁷ union labor bodies throughout the country were divided in opinion. For a time, the whole labor movement was seriously affected, as some recognized the Reid faction and others the McNulty faction as the legitimate electrical union in their locality. It took a court decision to end the secessionist movement and establish the McNulty administration as the legitimate branch of the Brotherhood.⁷⁸

The end of the revolt marked the beginning of a remarkable period of growth. The membership increased from less than 25,000 in 1913, the year in which most of the secessionists began to return to the Brotherhood, to almost 60,000 in 1917. The ensuing three years witnessed an even greater growth, as a high point of 142,000 was reached in 1920.⁷⁹ Though this increase

⁷⁶M. C. Mulcaire, *op cit*, p. 20.

⁷⁷This recognition was made in a letter sent out to affiliated labor bodies, February 11, 1909, *Proceedings, 29th Annual Convention, A F of L*, 1909, p. 79.

⁷⁸Judge Phillips of the Court of Common Pleas, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, handed down a decision on February 21, 1912, which declared the special convention held in St. Louis in September, 1908, to be illegal. It likewise determined that the McNulty faction, being the legitimate branch of the Brotherhood, were the rightful custodians of the funds of the organization. This decision, on appeal, was sustained by the Court of Appeals, and finally by the Supreme Court of Ohio. Mulcaire, *op cit*, p. 19.

⁷⁹The 1920 figure is not included in Table I, as no Secretary's Report was made that year. See Leo Wolman, *Growth in American Trade Unions*, p. 117.

was reflected in every branch of the trade, it was most marked in the government controlled industries, particularly the railroad and the shipyards.

The return of the railroads to private ownership and the practical shutting down of the ship-building industry during the next few years caused a great loss of membership. The general industrial depression of 1921-1923, of course, and the Open Shop Drive on the part of various employers' organizations during the same period brought about a rapid decline in membership in every branch of the electrical trade. The total membership has fallen from 142,000 in 1920 to less than 70,000 in 1923.

As conditions of employment began to improve, however, many of those who had allowed their membership to lapse were again reinstated and the total membership has shown a steady increase since 1923. At present, it has reached approximately 140,000, only a little short of the high mark of 1920.

Although definite figures concerning the distribution of the membership are lacking, it seems reasonable to conclude that the largest number are inside wiremen, most of whom are employed by independent contractors. Outside electrical workers employed by electric light and power companies, street railway companies, telegraph and telephone companies, and contractors doing line and cable construction work for these public utility concerns probably comprise the next most numerous class. Most of these are employed by the power companies. Street railway companies do not have as much of this type of work to be done as power companies. Union electrical workers in the telephone and telegraph industries have become almost extinct, owing to the strong anti-union policy of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.⁷⁹ Line contractors, as yet, do not perform a very large portion of the work of these utility companies.

Railroad electrical workers are of somewhat less importance, especially since the disastrous Shopcrafts Strike of 1922. Shopmen and miscellaneous electrical workers are apparently the least important numerically.⁸⁰

⁷⁹J. P. Noonan, President of International Brotherhood of Electric Workers—*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1927, pp. 26, 28-31.

⁸⁰*The Directory of Local Unions for the Fourth Quarter of 1927*, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers shows the following

As previously mentioned, there are probably between 10,000 and 20,000 members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers employed in the electric light and power industry.⁸¹ Of these, the largest proportion are linemen, though groundmen and other line construction helpers, cable splicers and helpers, troubleshooters, metermen, sub-station operators, and wiremen are also important.

Although the International Union of Steam and Operating Engineers and the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers have jurisdiction over certain central station workers, these workers are connected only with the production of electricity, a field in which the relative importance of labor has been greatly decreased. Moreover, the combined membership of these two unions employed in the central station industry is probably less than 5,000.⁸² It is apparent, therefore, that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, with its comparatively large representation in the industry, most of it engaged in distributing and maintaining electric service, is the most representative union in the electric light and power field.⁸³

The activities of its local unions and of the International Brotherhood in attempting to better working conditions in the industry, together with the effect such activities have had upon the workers, the industry itself, and the public, form the basis of this

distribution among the various kinds of locals. Mixed, including mostly inside men and linemen, 311; Inside Men, 176, Line and Cable Splicers, 80, Power-House, 2, Railroad, 66, Shop, 5, and Miscellaneous, including navy-yard, fixture-hangers, bridge-operators, etc., 13.

⁸¹See p. 70 above.

⁸²See pp. 20 and 24.

⁸³Certain other unions are represented in the industry, such as the machinists, boiler-makers, steamfitters, etc. The type of work that their members perform, however, is so far removed from the main work of the industry and their numbers are so small that they merit no more than this brief mention. The Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America have had some jurisdictional trouble with the IBEW in electric railway and light companies, and, in a few cases, electrical workers have been members of the Amalgamated. This union has no jurisdiction over any of the workers engaged in the production and distribution of electric light and power, however, and will be given attention in this study only in so far as it has affected the strength of the IBEW in its dealings with central station employers.

study Chapter II deals with questions of wages, hours, and other working conditions, and the influence of the union upon them The activities of the members of the Brotherhood in lessening the hazards of the occupation and in providing such industrial betterments as life insurance and pensions form the substance of Chapter III. Chapter IV shows the influence of trade unionism upon the industry's relations with the public Chapter V summarizes the study, with special reference to the social aspects of "Trade Unionism in the Electric Light and Power Industry"

CHAPTER II

WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers,¹ like most other unions, has devoted most of its attention to the questions of wages and hours of work. Yet other conditions have by no means been ignored. The hazardous nature of the linesman's occupation has made the problem of safety of great importance.² The problem of security of employment has demanded the attention of the union. The fact that many companies are unable to do much line construction work during the winter months makes the linesman's trade more or less seasonable in nature. Extra linemen are hired in the spring of each year by many companies and laid off in the fall. The question of compensation for overtime work, though really a part of the general problems of wages and hours, has received special attention. Storms, floods, fires, and other disasters cause interruptions in electric service through damages to lines. In order to restore service promptly, line gangs often put in many hours outside of their regular working time.

Before studying the influence of the Brotherhood upon these and other working conditions in the electric light and power industry, attention must be given to the methods through which the Brotherhood attempts to exert its influence.

METHODS

The methods which have been used in the attempt to improve working conditions in the industry are of two types. On the one hand, there is the economic method, in which negotiations are carried on directly with the employer. On the other, there is the method of propaganda, which seeks to influence the employer to deal directly with the union, or, failing in this, to substitute public ownership for private ownership of the electric light and

¹The term "International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers" is used in the balance of this study to refer only to the union electrical workers employed in the central station industry. Some of the statements made herein do not apply to the organization as a whole.

²See Chapter III.

power industry. Consideration of the use to which the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has put this method of propaganda has been deferred to Chapter IV.

Negotiations with central station employers have been carried on very largely by local unions of the Brotherhood. Locals have often acted jointly when their members were employed by the same company. In a few instances, an International or District Council Officer has negotiated an agreement for a large number of locals whose members were employed by the same company. In no case, has there been anything in the nature of a national agreement.

Before any attempt can be made to negotiate with the officials of a company, certain preliminary steps are taken.

a. First of all, as many as possible of the employees of the company are initiated into the union. The methods used to organize these men vary according to circumstances. In case there is no local union in the vicinity, an International Organizer is sent in to interview the men and establish a local, if possible. Where a local union is already in existence, the organizing work is done by the members of the local, the business agent of the local, or an International Organizer. Sometimes, all three of these agencies are used. Individual members are seldom successful as organizers, especially if they are fellow-employees of the men they are trying to organize. Many companies will employ union men only as long as they do not "agitate" or try to persuade others to join the union. Moreover, ordinary members do not have time to do effective organizing work. The larger unions employ a paid, full-time business agent to get new members as well as carry on negotiations with employers. He can do this work with little fear of losing his job, because he is hired by the union rather than by some company. The smaller unions must depend, very largely, on the necessarily infrequent visits of International Organizers, as far as personal solicitation is concerned.

Prospective members are solicited, where possible, on the job. If the company is exceptionally friendly toward the union, business agents or other members of the local are given permission to do this. In most cases, however, the companies will not permit this and the work has to be done without their permission. This is not difficult, however, as a lineman's work usually takes him

some distance from the offices of the company.³ The line foremen, who represent the management's interests in the field, are often as susceptible to union influence as the men themselves. Where the local is not strong enough to employ a business agent, personal solicitation is usually confined to calls at the prospect's home after working hours.

In some cases, very little personal solicitation occurs. Prospects are canvassed by mail with letters, trade union literature, and invitations to open meetings. Efforts are made to make these open meetings as attractive as possible. Interesting programs are arranged and refreshments served. Leaders in the local union and leaders from other labor bodies extol the advantages of trade unionism, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the local body. Announcement is made that the "charter will be open" for a certain length of time in order to give those interested a chance to join at very low initiation fees.

The securing of better conditions by the union, either through peaceful means or through a successful strike, has generally been an impetus to further organization. It seems more fitting, however, to consider such an accomplishment as the result of being strongly organized rather than as the result of an organizing agency. Conversely, attempts to negotiate with the officials of a company before that company's employees have been properly organized have rendered the local union ineffective and useless.⁴

b A further preliminary step to negotiating with employers for improved conditions is the building up of the morale of the local union. The success of any organization depends very largely upon the loyalty of its members. Especially is this true of an organization such as a trade union, whose activities often put the loyalty of its members to severe tests.

Several methods have been used to build up this qualitative strength of the union. Constant attempts have been made to instil

³In the course of a discussion on union labor at the 1905 Convention of the National Electric Light Association, a Mr. Scovil said "I know it is one of the most difficult things to keep linemen out of the unions. A lineman in the ordinary electric light station is obliged to go all over the city, and he is frequently accompanied by but one or two associates." *Proceedings, 28th Convention, N. E. L. A., 1905*, p. 136.

⁴C. P. Ford, International Secretary, I. B. E. W.—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, November, 1916, p. 239.

the principles of trade unionism in the new members through educational means. Chief among these have been the *Electrical Worker*,⁵ the official journal of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and the programs of the local union meetings. The journal has been published monthly, with but few interruptions, since January, 1893. It has been sent to all members, the subscription price being included in the annual dues paid by each member. Most of the articles which have appeared in the *Electrical Worker* have dealt with the principles of trade unionism. Most of the speakers who have addressed meetings of local unions have based their talks on this same subject.

Of greater effectiveness in retaining the loyalty of the members have been the various beneficiary features of the union.⁶ Some form of death benefit has been in existence since the establishment of the Brotherhood in 1891. Strike benefits have been paid more or less intermittently by the International Union. Many local unions have had some plan for the payment of benefits to sick and disabled members. A pension plan was adopted at the 1927 Convention of the IBEW and went into effect January 1, 1928.⁷ Entertainments, dances, and other social functions have also tended to stimulate the interest and loyalty of the members. In recent years, auxiliary locals made up of the wives of members have been organized.⁸ A department for woman readers appears regularly in the official journal. These are plainly attempts to win the loyalty of the wives and thus make it harder for members to drop out of the organization.

These methods have all tended to develop the morale of the various local groups. In many cases, however, their full value has not been realized owing to the fact that new members have not been given sufficient time or opportunity to understand the nature and purposes of the union before they are called out on strike. The natural, easy thing for such a member to do is to keep his job and leave the union. The importance of doing everything possible to develop the loyalty of the individual members to the union

⁵The name was changed to *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators* in January, 1915.

⁶These beneficiary features are studied in detail in Chapter III.

⁷*Proceedings, 19th Convention, IBEW, 1927*, pp. 95-99.

⁸*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, November, 1923, p. 659.

before entering into negotiations with the employer cannot be overemphasized

c The third and final preliminary step is the drawing up of a wage scale and schedule of working conditions by a regularly constituted wage committee and the approval of this schedule by the members affected by it. An International officer is often called in to assist in drawing up this wage schedule. In recent years, a research department has been established in the office of the International Secretary in Washington, D. C. During the two-year period covered by the 1927 Report of the Secretary, more than fifty local unions were given active and technical assistance in the preparation of wage briefs used in negotiations with employers. More than twenty other local unions were given information relative to wages and cost of living data.⁹ Some locals make a practice of writing to organizations in nearby cities for information in regard to wages and working conditions, before drawing up a wage scale.

Having passed through these three preliminary stages, the local union is then ready to enter into negotiations with employers. This does not mean that every local, before it presents its demands to a company, has organized most of the employees of that company, built up the morale of the new workers, and given considerable time and study to drawing up a schedule of working conditions. There have been many instances of local unions presenting demands shortly after they were organized. Local No. 705, for instance, was organized at St. Petersburg, Florida, in the latter part of March, 1925. Early in May, demands were presented to the Pinellas County Power Company. The company refused to grant them and the linemen and helpers went out on strike. No settlement was reached.¹⁰ The local Union Directory of the Brotherhood, for the last quarter of 1927, shows that the union is no longer in existence. Some newly-organized locals have had better luck, especially during periods of rising prices.¹¹ For

⁹G. M. Bugniet, International Secretary—*Report of Officers, I B E W*, 1927, p. 46.

¹⁰*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, April, 1925, p. 348, May, 1925, p. 457, May, 1926, p. 241.

¹¹In May, 1916, Local No. 280, of Hammond, Indiana, after being organized but two months, secured higher wages for the metermen em-

the most part, however, local unions have been relatively unsuccessful in dealing with employers, unless they have been strongly organized, both quantitatively and qualitatively, and have used great care in drawing up their wage schedules.

Demands for improved working conditions have been presented in two forms. The usual form is a written, more or less formal, statement of working conditions which, when signed by the officials of the company and representatives of the union, is known as a trade agreement. The laws of the International Brotherhood make it necessary that all agreements be approved and countersigned by some representative of the International Office. The verbal request for improved conditions is the second form. The latter is seldom used, however, as even when the union officials have slight hope of obtaining other than a verbal understanding with the company, demands are usually presented in the form of a written agreement.

Although the proposed agreement is sometimes sent to the company by mail, a committee of the local union, assisted, when possible, by an International Representative, usually attempts to secure a conference with the proper company official and present it personally.

The action of the company depends, among other factors, upon its financial condition, the condition of the labor market, the company's immediate need of the services of the particular laborers concerned, the attitude of the company's officers toward union labor, and the degree to which the men are organized. The alternative types of action can be roughly classified as follows: (1) accept the agreement, (2) express a desire to compromise and negotiate further with the union representatives, (3) refuse to sign the agreement but agree verbally to grant all, or a part of the conditions asked, (4) refuse to grant the conditions asked, (5) refuse to deal with the union, (6) lock out the union men employed by the company.

The action of the union depends, among other factors, upon the action of the company, the strength of the union, and the condition of the labor market. If the company signs the agree-

ment, the members of the union go to work under the new conditions. The second and third types of company action may result in almost immediate settlement, long drawn-out negotiations, or a strike or lockout. The last three types of company action result in the union declaring the company "unfair," and in suspension of work. Such action is automatic in case of a lockout. If the union is not very strong or if other circumstances make it unwise to call a strike, the company's refusal to grant the demands or to deal with the union may cause the union to drop the matter until circumstances are more auspicious. International representatives often assist the members of the union in deciding what action shall be taken.¹²

INFLUENCE OF UNION ACTIVITIES UPON WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS

The influence of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers upon wages and working conditions in the electric light and power industry can best be discovered by studying the history of local union activities and the results of those activities. This history falls roughly into several more or less definite periods, the limits of which are determined very largely by the facts relating to the general development of the Brotherhood.¹³ These periods are as follows: (1) Decentralized Activities, 1891-1903, (2)

¹²Between July, 1919, and July, 1921, 964 official requests for assistance in negotiating agreements or adjusting disputes with employers were received at the International Office. Of these, settlements acceptable to those interested were reached without suspension of work in 881 cases. C. P. Ford, International Secretary—*Report of Officers, 1921*, p. 48.

¹³See pp. 30-35 for these facts concerning the general history. Letters of local union officials which have appeared in the official journal—known as the *Electrical Worker* up to January, 1915, and, since then, as the *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*—and the reports of International Officers have served as the chief sources of this study. These data have been supplemented, as far as possible, by reference to the Proceedings of the Conventions of the Brotherhood and of the National Electric Light Association, the *Electrical World*, daily newspapers, publications of the U. S. Dept. of Labor, various labor journals, and correspondence and personal interviews with company and union officials. The fragmentary nature of the data precludes the possibility of an exact, statistical study. They are complete enough, nevertheless, to show the general trend in the influence of the union upon wages and working conditions.

Unified Development, 1903-1908, (3) Secession, 1908-1913; (4) Reunion and Recovery, 1913-1916, (5) War Influences, 1916-1920, (6) Decline in Influence, 1920-1924, (7) Reconstruction, 1924 to the present

1 *Decentralised Activities, 1891-1903*—The Brotherhood as a whole made little progress between its establishment in 1891 and 1903. The action of the International Convention in that year in voting a full-time salary to the President of the organization marked the transformation from a decentralized to a unified association.¹⁴

Data concerning the relations between local unions and electric light and power companies during this pioneering period are not as complete as for the later periods. Hence, too much reliance should not be placed upon conclusions based upon these data. There is some evidence, however, that, in certain cities, union influence was relatively strong during at least part of the period. In March, 1897, for instance, it was reported that Receiver Fagan, of the Consolidated Electric Light and Power Company of Kansas City, Kansas, discharged practically all of the old employees and replaced them with union men.¹⁵ In December, 1901, Local No. 20 reported that nearly all of the linemen in the vicinity of Mt. Vernon, New York, carried union cards.¹⁶

On the other hand, local unions in many other cities readily admitted their weakness in the electric light and power field. Local No. 48 of Ft. Wayne, Indiana, in December, 1896, complained that the employees of the Wood Electric Light Corporation would not join the union because it was only a "trouble-maker."¹⁷ In February, 1903, it was reported that less than 10 per cent of the 15,000 electrical workers in Chicago belonged to the union.¹⁸ The Edison Company of Rockford, Illinois, at about

¹⁴See pp. 32 and 33.

¹⁵*Electrical Worker*, March, 1897, p. 7.

¹⁶P. F. Kelly, *Electrical Worker*, December, 1901, p. 23. Similar indications of the presence of union influence during this period are found in letters from locals in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Spokane, Cleveland, Houston, Fairmont, West Virginia, Bridgeport, Connecticut, Davenport, Iowa, and other cities.

¹⁷*Electrical Worker*, December, 1896, p. 11.

¹⁸J. A. Hornsby, Local No. 49—*Ibid.*, February, 1903, p. 66.

the same time, made a practice of discharging men for joining the union¹⁹

The instances described above pertain mostly to the degree to which central station employees were organized. They indicate only indirectly the influence of the local unions upon wages and working conditions. Definite information concerning this influence can be obtained only through studying the actual cases in which union activity has been directed toward increasing wages and improving working conditions.

Although very little information for the years prior to 1900 is available, there is reason to believe that union influence upon wages and working conditions in the electric light and power industry was slight. In July, 1897, Local No. 1 reported that many non-union jobs in St. Louis paid linemen \$2.00 for a ten-hour day, which was also the union scale of wages. Because of this, many linemen questioned the value of the union and refused to join.²⁰ The fact that the total membership of the International Brotherhood in 1899 was smaller than in 1892, one year after its establishment,²¹ would also seem to indicate that it made very little impression upon the industry during the first eight years of its existence.

May 1, 1900, however, marked the beginning of a period of intense activity upon the part of organized electrical workers in the central station industry, as well as in the other electrical industries. In Rochester, New York, nearly 100 electrical workers struck for an eight-hour day. In Springfield, Massachusetts, all of the linemen in the employ of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company went on strike. Four hundred electrical workers in Philadelphia left their jobs. In New York City, 1,500 electrical workers suspended work. Though only a small portion of the workers involved in these strikes were actually employees of electric light and power companies, these strikes were of direct concern to all employers of electrical workers, for they developed the "strike fever" among these workers.²²

¹⁹H. T. Lawson, Local No. 196—*Ibid.*, p. 75.

²⁰*Op. cit.*, July, 1897, p. 9.

²¹See Table I, p. 32.

²²These strikes were part of a general labor movement, as nearly 19,000 workers of all types struck on May 1. *Electrical World*, May 12, 1900, Vol. 35, No. 19, p. 707.

A short time later, electric light workers in Baltimore demanded a raise in wages on the basis that the recent increase in the voltage had made their work more hazardous.²³ The public was seriously discommoded.²⁴

Although signed agreements probably existed before 1900, the first one concerning which there is any definite information was that entered into by the Independent Electric Light and Power Company, of San Francisco, with a San Francisco local of the Brotherhood. It was obtained in December, 1900, after a strike of less than two weeks. It provided for a daily wage of \$3.00 and an eight-hour day for the linemen employed by the company.²⁵

Very few signed agreements were entered into during the period under consideration.²⁶ Many employers would have nothing to do with the union. Others, who were inclined to be friendly toward the organization, were unwilling to sign agreements with local unions because the members had shown little disposition to live up to the few agreements which had previously

²³The problem of safety will be encountered frequently throughout the balance of this study. It will be given more detailed treatment in Chapter III.

²⁴The *Electrical World* called attention to the seriousness of the situation as follows: "The strike in Baltimore among the electric light men continues and, according to latest reports, is likely to spread. Egyptian darkness or something akin to it prevails in the city at night. The electric railway employees are also on strike for higher wages. It is reported that the electric light men are not striking directly for higher wages, but for what is equivalent to a reduction in line voltage. One of the leaders points out that the voltage of wires has been increased from 1,000 to 2,750 within the past year, which makes the wires 'much hotter' and more complicated than formerly, making the men's work more dangerous. In view of the extra hazard, a corresponding raise in wages was hoped for, but the company officials did not look upon the situation in the same light and the strike was the result. It is reported that the telephone linemen may join their striking brethren." *Electrical World*, June 9, 1900, Vol. 35, No. 23, p. 871. Information concerning the result of the strike is not available.

²⁵*Ibid.*, December 15, 1900, Vol. 36, No. 24, p. 927.

²⁶The appendix to the original manuscript of this study, which is in the University of Illinois Library, contains briefs of 304 agreements and 149 strikes of local unions against central station companies, between 1891 and 1928. Five agreements and seven strikes belong to this 1891-1903 period.

been in existence. The International officers had little or no control over the members of the local unions. Hence, agreements were seldom entered into by employers except when they were compelled to do so by strikes. Though data concerning only a few strikes are available, there is reason for believing that numerous strikes, most of which were unsuccessful, occurred during this period.²⁷

The accomplishments of the union between 1891 and 1903 were insignificant. This was due not so much to the antagonism and strength of the employers as it was to the disorganized, decentralized nature of the Brotherhood. Negotiations were carried on with employers almost entirely without the advice or assistance of International officers. Gains made by a local union one year were wiped out by unwise, hasty action at some later time. About the only important accomplishment during the period was that the foundation was laid for more successful activity in later years. Members and ex-members of the Brotherhood were scattered throughout the country and the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers was known wherever electrical work was performed. The few instances in which the activities of local unions resulted in some measure of success and the numerous instances of failure taught the members of the Brotherhood something concerning wise and unwise trade union practice.

2 *Unified Development, 1903-1908*—The action of the 1903 Convention of the Brotherhood in making it possible for the International Officers to exercise greater control over local union activities ushered in a period of remarkable growth. The total membership almost doubled between 1903 and 1904. By 1906, it was over three times as large as in 1903, over 30,000 electrical workers carrying union cards in the later year. This growth is even more remarkable when it is realized that organized labor, in general, suffered membership losses between 1904 and 1906, owing to the general business depression.²⁸ During the last two years of the period, 1907 and 1908, the total number of members remained in the vicinity of 30,000, being slightly less during the latter year.²⁹

²⁷W. A. Jackson, International President—*Proceedings, 8th Convention, IBEW*, 1903, p. 14.

²⁸Leo Wolman—*Growth of American Trade Unions, 1880-1923*, p. 33.

²⁹See Table I, p. 32, and accompanying discussion.

That the growth in total membership was reflected in the number of union electrical workers employed by central station companies is indicated by reports from various sections of the country. In the latter part of 1903, Local No. 392, of Troy, New York, reported that through "opening their charter" they had "landed all the electrical workers in the local electric light and power station."³⁰ In March, 1905, Local No. 205 claimed that every lineman in the city of Appleton, Wisconsin, and the surrounding territory carried a union card.³¹ Local No. 109, of Rock Island, Illinois, in April, 1907, reported that, with the exception of that of the Bell Telephone Company, all electrical work in the city was done by union men.³² In May, 1908, a new local of linemen was organized in Spokane, Washington, with 200 members.³³ Innumerable other instances of the growth of union membership, in all parts of the country, among the type of electrical workers employed by electric light and power companies might be cited.

The influence of the union upon wages and working conditions, as might be expected, also increased. Written agreements were entered into between electric light and power companies and local unions in many localities. Most of them, apparently, were simple documents which recognized the local union and established the daily rate of wages and length of the working day for the linemen employed by the company.³⁴

The agreement entered into in May, 1905, by the California Gas and Electric Company, one of the forerunners of the present Pacific Gas and Electric Company, was more comprehensive.³⁵ The other party to the agreement was the Pacific District Council of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers,³⁶ act-

³⁰W. P. Hayden—*Electrical Worker*, September, 1903, p. 46.

³¹Report of Vice-President F. G. O'Connell—*Electrical Worker*, May, 1905, p. 19.

³²N. Tyrrel—*Ibid.*, April, 1907, p. 37.

³³C. A. Washburn, Local No. 609—*Ibid.*, May 1908, p. 317.

³⁴Evidence of twenty-eight agreements, fourteen of which were apparently signed agreements, was found by the writer. See n. 26 above.

³⁵Report of Secretary J. L. Cook, Pacific District Council, I. B. E. W.—*Electrical Worker*, May, 1905, p. 38.

³⁶California local unions had been instrumental in introducing the District Council plan of government into the Brotherhood at the 1903 Convention. See p. 35. The fact that consolidation had made greater strides

ing in behalf of the seven local unions the members of which were employed by the company. Inasmuch as this is the earliest example of a comprehensive trade agreement in the industry concerning which definite information is available, its more important provisions should be noted.

It provided wage increases for the following groups of workers: line foremen, journeymen, and apprentices; operators in generating plants and sub-stations, dynamo tenders, and wipers; station electricians, including foremen, journeymen, and helpers, and meter-inspectors, testers, and repairers. Daily wage rates were specified for all workers except the operators, who were to be paid by the month. All foremen were to receive \$4.00, journeyman linemen and electricians and metermen were scheduled to receive \$3.50, helpers and apprentices were granted \$2.50, and wages of \$2.25 and \$2.00 were to be paid to dynamo tenders and wipers, respectively, for an eight-hour day. Station operators were scheduled to receive \$75 to \$90 per month, depending upon the complexity of the equipment handled. Information concerning the working hours of operators is lacking. Twelve hours per day, seven days per week, were standard, however, throughout the country during this period and for a number of years after 1908.³⁷

The agreement provided that overtime work up to midnight was to be paid for at one and one-half times the regular hourly wage. Those men who worked between midnight and 8.00 a.m. and on Sundays and legal holidays were to receive twice the regular hourly wage. As previously mentioned, overtime provisions are of great importance to both linemen and their employers, owing to the fact that restoration of service after destructive storms and other catastrophes necessitates the services of linemen after their regular working hours.

among electric light and power and telephone companies in that state than in other sections showed union workers that independent local unions were inadequate bargaining agencies.

³⁷As late as August, 1918, an agreement was entered into between the Monongahela Valley Traction and Light Company and Locals No. 755 and 756, of Fairmont and Clarksburg, West Virginia, respectively, which provided for a twelve-hour day for sub-station operators. *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, August, 1918, p. 36.

The term of the agreement was one year. Information as to whether or not it provided for a "closed" or "union" shop is lacking. Most signed agreements, however, unless otherwise specified, have provided that only union men should be employed or, at least, that non-union men should be employed only in case the union is unable to furnish enough men to perform the company's work.³⁸ It is reasonable to believe that this California agreement provided for a union shop.

When companies were unwilling to enter into written agreements, verbal understandings were often reached. These understandings enabled companies to maintain harmonious relations with local unions without fully recognizing them. Many companies were willing to grant the demands of local unions for higher wages and improved working conditions but were unwilling to recognize the union to the extent of signing an agreement or contract for a definite period of time. This situation evidently existed in Fort Worth, Texas, in 1908, when an official of Local No. 156 wrote: "All the light companies agree to our rules, but refuse to sign contracts. But all the companies are in better shape with No. 156 than ever before."³⁹

The period under consideration differed markedly from the previous one in the means used by local unions in their attempts to better conditions. During the earlier period, electric light and power companies made very few concessions to union employees except as they were forced to do so through strikes.⁴⁰ During the later period, suspension of work occurred in only nine out of the twenty-eight cases studied in which improved conditions were obtained through union influences. In the other nineteen cases, understandings were reached through peaceful conferences between company officials and union representatives. In a few cases, the original demands of the union were granted without delay. At the other extreme were those cases in which settlement was reached only after definite preparations had been made for a strike. Agreements reached in the majority of cases, however,

³⁸As a general rule, written agreements of the Brotherhood call for the closed shop. *Handbook of American Trade Unions*, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 420, October, 1926, p. 26.

³⁹R. C. Wright—*Electrical Worker*, August, 1908, p. 496.

⁴⁰See p. 46.

embodied compromises between the conditions demanded by the union representatives and the existing conditions. International and District Council officials frequently took part in the negotiations. The assistance of these outside men, whose wider experience and perspective made them see the advantages of conservative action more clearly than local leaders saw them, probably accounted for many of these settlements being accomplished through peaceful conferences rather than strikes.

The hazardous nature of a lineman's work was stressed in one of these cases as a basis for higher wages. The following statement by an official of Local No. 20, New York City, describes the incident:

The intense rate of deaths caused by the high tension wires in this locality has demanded considerable attention of late among the linemen and a movement on foot to get an increase in pay has been actually realized by those employed by the Flatbush Light Company, all linemen employed there having received an increase in pay of 25c per day, the movement as yet not having materialized with other companies throughout Long Island. Our immediate success with the Flatbush Light Company is really due to the cleverness employed by our worthy committee, consisting of District Organizer Ryan, President Geron of No. 20, and President Warburton of No. 522, in conference with officials of the above company.⁴¹

The underlying reason, however, for the relative ease with which improved conditions were secured by local unions was that the demand for electrical workers was great. The electric light and power industry was just beginning that era of expansion which has reached such remarkable proportions in recent years.⁴²

Although marked progress was made in improving working conditions through peaceful means, the strike weapon was used not infrequently. The decreased autonomy of local unions, however, owing to the more effective control over their activities by International and District Council Officers, tended to lessen the tendency toward hastily-called, unauthorized strikes, which had been so prevalent during the preceding period.⁴³

⁴¹B. W. Jones—*Electrical Worker*, November, 1907, p. 16.

⁴²See p. 11 and Tables I and III, Appendix.

⁴³That this tendency was not entirely done away with, however, is indicated by the report of Vice-President F. G. O'Connell. Speaking of the strike against the Oshkosh Light Company, of Oshkosh, Wisconsin, which he called off April 17, 1905, he said: "This strike has lost us what

Out of twenty strikes during this period, concerning which there is more or less definite information, the evidence indicates that nine were won by the union or compromised satisfactorily and that five were lost. The outcome in the other six cases is not known.⁴⁴ The refusal of the company to grant the union's demand for higher wages was the direct cause of most of these strikes.

The length of the strikes referred to above ranged from one day in the case of the successful Cataract Power Company strike at Hamilton, Ontario, to approximately five years in the case of Local No. 77's unsuccessful strike against the Seattle Electric Company. In most cases, members of one local union struck against one company. One of the most important strikes, however, was that of Local No. 163 and Local No. 81 of Wilkes-Barre and Scranton, Pennsylvania, respectively, against three electric light companies, two traction companies, and two telephone companies. Several of the other strikes in this group involved more than one company. Very little information concerning the number of men involved is available. Of those in which this fact is known, this number ranged from eight in the case of Local No. 239's strike against the Edison Electric Illuminating Company of Williamsport, Pennsylvania, to 135 in the strike against the Duquesne and Allegheny County Light Companies of Pittsburgh.

That the activities of local unions during this period were not restricted to any one section of the country is indicated by these

was the best job in the State of Wisconsin, and no one is to blame but the men themselves. They have struck this job four times the past winter, and in no case did they notify the Vice-President. These kinds of strikes are doing more to tear down the Brotherhood than a whole regiment of organizers can do to build it up." *Electrical Worker*, May, 1905, p. 36.

⁴⁴See n. 26 above. The difficulty of the union with the Kenosha Gas and Electric Company, of Kenosha, Wisconsin, was primarily a lockout, rather than a strike, but it is included in this group since it is the only case of its kind and affected the men in much the same manner that a strike would have done. Shortly after the organization of the local in the summer of 1907, the company locked out all of its employees who had joined the union. In January, 1908, largely through the support of the building trades, the difficulty was settled in favor of the union. *Electrical Worker*, November, 1907, p. 18, February, 1908, p. 122.

facts five of the above strikes occurred in Pennsylvania, two each occurred in Illinois, Wisconsin, California, and Washington, and one each occurred in Texas, Florida, Missouri, Ohio, Minnesota, Rhode Island, and Ontario

The essential nature of electric service has made even the staunchest union supporters unwilling to forego its use. The boycott, consequently, has seldom been used in the electric light and power industry. Two unsuccessful attempts were made to use it during this period, one in Alexandria, Virginia,⁴⁵ and the other in Baltimore.⁴⁶

In general, the period from the latter part of 1903 to the latter part of 1908 was one of growth in the influence of the Brotherhood in the central station industry. Both signed and verbal agreements providing for increased wages and improved working conditions were entered into in greater numbers than in previous years. A larger proportion of them were secured through peaceful conferences than through strikes or other forceful means. Though strikes were by no means infrequent, most of them were called off after attempts had been made to settle the differences through peaceful means. The hastily-called, unauthorized strike of the earlier period was not much in evidence. This accounted, to some extent, for the fact that a large proportion of the strikes

⁴⁵"There is a new light company started up in Alexandria, Virginia, and they are working about twenty negro would-be linemen. We have been fighting them for all we are worth but without any results. We sent a committee down and went around to see all the Union stores and hotels and told them that this Light Company was working unfair labor and told them not to take lights from this company. About eight of every ten took the lights." W. S. Lyons, Local No. 148—*Electrical Worker*, January, 1907, p. 50.

⁴⁶"We are squeezing the boycott on the United Electric Light Company harder every day. The only time that company will look good to us is when they send us a communication that they will employ all union men and non-union men need not apply." W. H. Green, Local No. 27—*Electrical Worker*, January, 1907, p. 41. Some months later, failure was admitted, as follows: "Now, brothers, that the boycott is lifted from the United Electric Light Company and there not being any card men working on the job, let's all endeavor to do our best and try and see if we can't do a little agitation of unionism to those non-union men and show them the great mistake they are making by not being one of the boys that carries the goods." W. H. Green—*Ibid.*, September, 1907, p. 39.

were relatively successful. The futility of the boycott as a trade union weapon in this industry was demonstrated.

The remarkable development of the period can be ascribed to two factors. They are as follows: (1) the substitution, to a large extent, of unified control over the activities and policies of the Brotherhood by International and District Council officials, acting in accordance with the Constitution of the Brotherhood,⁴⁷ for independent, unconstitutional action by local groups, and (2) the increased demand for the services of linemen and other electrical workers owing to the rapid expansion of the electric light and power industry.

3 *Secession, 1908-1913*—In September, 1908, representatives of 193 local unions met in St. Louis in what they considered to be an official convention of the Brotherhood. Grand President McNulty and the other officers were deposed. New officers were elected, Mr. J. J. Reid, a former Vice-President being elected Grand President. Mr. McNulty declared that this action was illegal and constituted secession from the Brotherhood. He was supported in this contention by many members of the organization, the American Federation of Labor, and, ultimately, by the courts. For five years the "Reid Electrical Workers" and the "McNulty Electrical Workers" struggled for the control of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.⁴⁸

Though no reliable figures can be obtained regarding the total membership of either faction during the secession, it is generally admitted that the Reid faction at one time controlled more than three-fourths of the organized electrical workers of the country.⁴⁹ A large portion of these seceders were evidently linemen and other outside electrical workers. For instance, practically all of the union men employed by the Pacific Gas and Electric

⁴⁷Article XVI, Section 1, of the Constitution provided that the President of the District Council should be notified of the difficulty immediately and that he should proceed to the scene of trouble immediately. If he deemed it necessary, the Grand Vice-President should be called in. (Section 2). Section 3 instructed the Vice-President to "use every endeavor to settle by honorable means said difficulty." *Constitution, IBEW, 1905*.

⁴⁸The events leading up to the secession movement and its general effect upon the Brotherhood have already been described in some detail on pp. 33-34.

⁴⁹See p. 34.

Company early in 1913 belonged to the Reid organization⁵⁰ At about the same time, an official of the McNulty local in Louisville, Kentucky, admitted that practically all of the linemen in that vicinity belonged to the seceding faction⁵¹

Information concerning the activities of local unions during the secession period is not very plentiful The *Electrical Worker*, the official journal of the Brotherhood, was published irregularly during 1909 and 1910⁵² News concerning the secession movement crowded ordinary union news out of the reports of local and International officers during this period

A few local unions were apparently not affected by the secession movement, as far as their relations with electric light and power companies were concerned, during at least part of the period Local No 12, of Pueblo, Colorado, in March, 1910, claimed that the light company employed only union linemen⁵³ In April, 1911, Local No 140, of Schenectady, New York, signed an agreement with the local electric light company which provided for \$3.00 per day and reduced the length of the working day from ten to nine hours This agreement was secured without suspension of work⁵⁴ Toward the close of the period, Local No 20, of New York City, after a strike of five months, secured wage increases for its members employed by the Queens Borough Gas and Electric Company⁵⁵

The members of the Brotherhood, as a whole, were seriously affected by the controversy Most of them seemed to have devoted more of their time to it than to bettering their working conditions In July, 1911, Local No 61, of Los Angeles, declared that the split in the local caused by the formation of a Reid local was responsible for their inability to improve conditions for the men employed at the Southern California Edison Company, Los

⁵⁰*Stationary Firemen's Journal*, June, 1913, p 5

⁵¹W J Bussan, Local No 369—*Electrical Worker*, May, 1913, p 944

⁵²No journals were published between August and December, 1909, and between the latter month and March, 1910 The author has been unable to determine whether or not any were published during the balance of 1910

⁵³J T Phillips—*Electrical Worker*, March, 1910, p 27

⁵⁴J B Welch—*Ibid*, April, 1911, p 187

⁵⁵G M Bugmazet, International Vice-President—*Ibid*, December, 1913, p 1188

Angeles Gas and Electric Company, and the Pacific Light and Power Company⁵⁶ Locals of both factions were reported to have been in existence in Erie, Pennsylvania, in February, 1913, and working against each other wherever possible⁵⁷ Vice-President Bugniaket, in May, 1913, reported that the members of the Reid local in Troy, New York, were "going to the Light Company and telling them our men were non-union men and trying to get them discharged as they could not have their members, then they turned detective for the company"⁵⁸

In June, 1913, a committee of the San Francisco Building Trades Council, which had been appointed to investigate the light and power situation,⁵⁹ reported, among other things, as follows "This Reid strike-breaking combination has broken strikes and instituted locals of electrical workers at a wage much lower than that received by the members of the I B E W, in Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Albany, Schenectady, New York City, Chicago, Gary, Dallas, and several smaller cities"⁶⁰

By far the most important event during the secession period, which related to the influence of the Brotherhood upon wages and working conditions in the electric light and power industry, was the strike of the "Light and Power Council of California" against the Pacific Gas and Electric Company It began May 7, 1913, and remained in effect until January 13, 1914⁶¹

This council was formed in December, 1912, for the purpose of uniting all the different organizations working for this company into one joint council, to sign joint agreements and act jointly on all matters pertaining to the trade This included electrical workers, belonging to the Reid faction, stationary firemen, gas workers, and a few machinists and other miscellaneous repairmen⁶² The steam engineers employed by the company refused to join the council on the ground that such action would imply

⁵⁶Fred Weeks—*Ibid*, July, 1911, p 327

⁵⁷M Brennan, Local No 56—*Ibid*, February, 1913, p 194

⁵⁸G M Bugniaket, International Vice-President—*Ibid*, May, 1913,

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⁵⁹See below on this page and also on p 60

⁶⁰*Electrical Worker*, July, 1913, p 1017

⁶¹*Stationary Firemen's Journal*, March, 1915, p 9

⁶²*Ibid*, June, 1913, p 5

recognition of the Reid Electrical Workers, which the American Federation of Labor had declared to be an outlaw organization⁶³

The International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen recognized the Reid faction as the legitimate electrical workers' union. According to its official journal, "it was not until after every honorable means to renew the agreements had failed that a strike was called."⁶⁴ Approximately 500 electrical workers, all members of the Reid organization, 140 stationary firemen, and a somewhat smaller number of gas workers and miscellaneous repairmen left their jobs when the strike was called. The steam engineers remained at work.⁶⁵

Less than two weeks after the strike began, Vice-President Grasser of the McNulty Electrical Workers agreed to furnish enough electrical workers of his organization to break the strike. On May 19, President Britton of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company and Mr. Grasser signed an agreement covering all wiring and conduit work performed on consumers' premises by company employees. Two days later, a second agreement was entered into. This covered the construction, operation, and maintenance of transmission, distribution, telephone lines, and apparatus in connection therewith, and the performance of other work necessary to supply service. Both agreements were for a period of three years and covered most of the territory served by the company.⁶⁶

The wages and working conditions called for in these agreements were apparently not more advantageous than the employees of the company had previously enjoyed.⁶⁷ The impor-

⁶³*International Steam Engineer*, Vol. 24, No. 2, August, 1913, p. 84.

⁶⁴*Stationary Firemen's Journal*, June, 1913, p. 5.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*

⁶⁶Report of International Vice-President Grasser—*Electrical Worker*, July, 1913, pp. 1045-47. These agreements are excellent examples of the comprehensive documents which all local unions of the Brotherhood have aspired to secure from their employers. Complete copies of them appear in the Appendix, pp. 183-187.

⁶⁷Mr. Grasser claimed that wages under these agreements were 25c to 75c per day higher than previously—*Electrical Worker*, July, 1913, p. 1045. In a resolution introduced at the A. F. of L. Convention in November of that year, members of the Central Labor Council of San Francisco declared that Grasser's agreement provided for lower wages than

tant thing, as far as Vice-President Grasser and his organization was concerned, was that the Company agreed "to employ only members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, together with its subordinate local unions, in so far as the organization can furnish men, provided that present employees shall be permitted at the pleasure of the company to retain their present position."⁶⁸ The matter of wages and working conditions was secondary to destroying the power of the Reid Electrical Workers.

Notwithstanding this agreement, the strike was prosecuted vigorously by the Light and Power Council for several months. Public welfare was seriously affected. At the end of the seventh week of the strike, the "San Francisco Labor Clarion" described the situation as follows: "The corporation, aided by some alleged trade unionists, has inserted advertisements in papers throughout the country in an effort to get linemen to take the places of the electrical workers now out on strike, but the zone affected is nightly in darkness. The company is today in just the position in which it found itself the day the men walked out."⁶⁹

An editorial in the *Electrical World* of October 4 reported that transmission lines of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company and important telegraph cables in Chicago had been severed as the result of labor troubles. It urged the enactment of a federal statute to prevent such interruptions of services essential to the public welfare.⁷⁰

That the company was seriously affected in a financial way is indicated by the following statement, contrasting its 1913 and 1914 financial reports: "While the expenses for the preceding year included certain extraordinary items due to labor troubles, which were not duplicated in 1914 to any extent, nevertheless substantial economies were effected in 1914," etc.⁷¹

the company had previously paid. Resolution No 75—*Proceedings, 33rd Annual Convention, A F of L*, 1913, p 378

⁶⁸*Electrical Worker*, July, 1913, p 1047

⁶⁹*Stationary Firemen's Journal*, July, 1913, p 5—reprint from *San Francisco Labor Clarion*, June 26, 1913

⁷⁰*Electrical World*, Vol 62, No 14, October 4, 1913, p 669

⁷¹*Ibid*, Vol 66, No 8, August 21, 1915, p 427

This strike gives some indication of the extent to which organized labor had been torn asunder by the controversy between the two factions of Electrical Workers. The International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen and the Gas Workers Unions in the vicinity of San Francisco, both affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, sided with the Reid faction and were among the strikers.⁷² The International Union of Steam Engineers assisted the McNulty faction in breaking the strike. Sixteen ex-members of the Firemen's Union, who had been expelled for returning to work for the company on August 1, were initiated into the engineers' organization almost immediately.⁷³

The Central Labor Council of Alameda County and the San Francisco Labor Council recognized the Reid Electrical Workers and endorsed the strike.⁷⁴ The San Francisco Building Trades Council, after hearing the report of the committee which had been appointed to investigate the light and power situation, refused to endorse the strike and recognized the McNulty organization.⁷⁵

The Executive Council of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor refused to endorse the strike, declaring that it was ordered in violation of existing agreements and that most of the workers involved were members of an organization which was not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.⁷⁶

The fight was carried to the floor of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor in November. Resolutions were introduced condemning the action of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the International Union of Steam Engineers in assisting the Pacific Gas and Electric Company in their efforts to break the strike. They were defeated. The decision of the Executive Council of the Federation was

⁷²See p. 58.

⁷³Resolution No. 57, *Proceedings, 33rd Annual Convention, A F of L*, 1913, p. 378. *International Steam Engineer*, Vol. 24, No. 2, August, 1913, p. 83.

⁷⁴*Stationary Firemen's Journal*, July, 1913, p. 3, October, 1913, p. 26.

⁷⁵*Electrical Worker*, July, 1913, p. 1017.

⁷⁶*International Steam Engineer*, Vol. 24, No. 2, August, 1913, p. 83.

sustained by the Convention. All unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor were ordered to withhold support from the seceding electrical workers. President Gompers was instructed to go to San Francisco at the close of the Convention and use his influence to bring the seceders back into the recognized body of electrical workers.⁷⁷

This action of the American Federation of Labor materially weakened the position of the strikers. The Light and Power Council officially called off the strike January 13, 1914. By that time, most of the electrical workers had returned to the recognized International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and also to their jobs.⁷⁸ A decision by the Ohio Supreme Court sustaining the judgment of a lower court in upholding the McNulty organization as the legitimate branch of the Brotherhood had demoralized seceders in all parts of the country.⁷⁹ Many of them had conscientiously believed that the Reid organization was the legitimate body. The destruction of this belief by the action of the courts and that of the American Federation of Labor caused them to return in large numbers to the recognized International Brotherhood. The California strikers undoubtedly were affected by this general movement.

The Pacific Gas and Electric Company strike has been described in some detail, not only because its effects upon the Brotherhood, the public, the industry, and organized labor in general were greater than almost any other strike in the history of the industry, but also because it shows clearly the outstanding characteristic of the secession period. The term "nullification" best describes this characteristic. Throughout the country, attempts by members of one faction to improve their working conditions were nullified in a large degree by the opposition of members of the other faction. Except in a few instances, where the influence of the secession movement was insignificant, organized electrical workers exerted little or no influence upon wages and working conditions in the central station industry.

⁷⁷*Proceedings, 33rd Annual Convention, A F of L*, 1913, pp. 379-381.

⁷⁸*Stationary Firemen's Journal*, March, 1915, p. 9.

⁷⁹See n. 77, Chap. I.

4 *Reunion and Recovery, 1913-1916*—The total number of members increased from 23,500 in 1913 to 35,533 in 1915.⁸⁰ This increase was due not so much to the initiation of non-union men as to the return of the members of the seceding faction. The International organizers had all they could do to weld former Reid and McNulty locals into unified, harmonious branches of the reunited International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.⁸¹ Where attempts were made to organize non-union workers, prospects often refused to join on the ground that they did not care to be affiliated with an organization in which there was such a notorious lack of harmony.⁸²

In June, 1915, Local No. 163, of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, reported that the public service corporations in the vicinity were less than 30 per cent organized. This was attributed very largely to the fact that the corporation managers had taken advantage of the divided condition of the union in past years and had refused to sign agreements or allow their men to join the union.⁸³ Local No. 37, of Hartford, Connecticut, declared that its lack of strength in the Hartford Electric Company was due to the fact that it had been a Reid local and that its prestige and influence with both the non-union men and the company had suffered during the secession period.⁸⁴ The barrenness of the secession and post-secession periods, as far as union influence upon wages and working conditions in the central station industry is concerned, is indicated by the following statement from a local union in Wilmington, Delaware: "Nine years ago, the light company paid \$2.75 for 9 hours, today, \$3.00 for the same amount of hours, straight time for overtime and holidays. Now,

⁸⁰See Table I on p. 32. Although no figures are available for the number of members in the spring of 1916, the fact that union influence in the electric light and power industry before that time was relatively small makes it the natural end of the period.

⁸¹F. J. McNulty, International President—*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1915, p. 34.

⁸²International Vice-President Noonan encountered this difficulty in attempting to organize linemen in Omaha. *Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1915, p. 126.

⁸³A. Lynch—*Electrical Worker*, June, 1915, p. 403.

⁸⁴W. A. Dermont—*Ibid.*, February, 1915, p. 93.

let us hope in the next nine years, the brothers will see fit to ask at least for 25c more"⁸⁸

Recovery from the effects of the secession movement was retarded by poor business conditions and resulting unemployment during this period. President McNulty reported that a larger number of members were unemployed between 1913 and 1915 than in any other two years since he had been connected with the Brotherhood.⁸⁹ Vice-President Noonan, whose duties took him from Texas to Minnesota and from Nebraska to Indiana, described the situation in his territory as follows:

The two years just closed are remarkable, chiefly on account of the continued dull times and the poor conditions that confronted all trades, together with the large percentage of men in all crafts unemployed. The conflict raging in Europe seems to have induced the men controlling vast amounts of capital to withdraw as much as possible of their money from circulation. This not only affected the Building Trades, but we find that the very largest corporations by whom our members are employed ceased, as far as it was possible, to do construction work and thus threw out of employment practically fifty per cent of our members that were employed by these companies. This condition rendered it practically impossible to do any great amount of organizing.⁹⁰

Vice-President Grasser reported similar conditions on the Pacific Coast. He explained the effect of them upon the Brotherhood as follows:

The greater the depression in trade, the greater becomes the competition for work among our people, and the greater the competition among our people, the greater becomes the danger of dissatisfaction. It is during such times of depression and non-employment that those who are desirous of seeing the downfall of labor become exceedingly active.⁹¹

In addition to the ordinary problems presented to workers and the union to which they belong in any period of business depression, two problems presented to the Brotherhood in this particular period deserve special mention.

The first problem was that of the traveling member. Many linemen had been known as "boomers" or "floaters" since the early days of the industry.⁹² This tendency to "travel" had been

⁸⁸B. Gallagher, Local No. 313—*Ibid.*, October, 1915, p. 187.

⁸⁹*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1915, p. 14.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁹²The "brave old days of the boomer" have been described as follows: "the old Boomer becomes restless and grabs the first

recognized in the constitution of the Brotherhood for many years⁹⁰ Before 1913, however, no special problem was presented, as the proportion of "floaters" to "home guards" was not too large to permit the former to be absorbed without much difficulty. As unemployment during this period increased, many of those who had never traveled before took out traveling cards and went to other cities in hopes of finding work. Unions located in sections of the country which had been affected by the industrial depression in a lesser degree than some other localities were alarmed by the sudden influx of traveling members. In order to check it, initiation fees were raised, notices to the effect that work was not plentiful were published in the official journal, and traveling cards were refused. As news of this exclusiveness on the part of local unions spread, the tendency to travel without procuring traveling cards and to work in the jurisdiction of other local unions without affiliating with those local unions increased. When forced to leave their home towns because of scarcity of work, members who had been active in union attempts to improve conditions often worked as non-union men in other cities in order to get a job. This floating class of linemen, many of them formerly members of local unions, became valuable allies to employers in withstanding the efforts of local unions to raise wages, through increasing the supply of line labor.⁹¹

The second problem was that presented by the growth of anti-union activities on the part of employers. Individual employers had, it is true, adopted measures calculated to destroy union influence among their employees for many years. Some of these,

thing out of town regardless of destination. After doing a couple hundred miles, he decides it's time to look for work, so blows down to the light plant, hits the boys for breakfast and the super for a job. About ten days later, the old boy quits the job, blows into some town, stops in a saloon, sleeps it off and moves on. I have tried to picture the old-time coast to coast boomer, as I knew him." D. C. Bach—*Electrical Worker*, August, 1927, p. 396. Certain members made a practice of working in the south during the winter months and in the north during the summer months. See pp. 130-31 and note.

⁹⁰Article XIV of the Constitution provides for the issuance and acceptance of traveling cards.

⁹¹McNulty, F. J., International President—*Report of Officers, I B E U*, pp. 14, 15.

such as the dismissal of employees who joined the union and the adoption of the "open-shop" policy, were direct measures. A more indirect measure was that of developing the loyalty of employees through welfare plans of various types. As early as 1905, a delegate to the Convention of the National Electric Light Association declared that union influence in his company had been entirely destroyed through paying employees an annual dividend of 6 per cent on the total of their year's wages. The Public Policy Committee of the same association reported, in 1912, that welfare departments had been established by the following companies: New York Edison, Commonwealth Edison, Philadelphia Electric, Edison Electric Illuminating of Boston, Consolidated Gas, Electric Light and Power of Baltimore, Cleveland Electric Illuminating, Brooklyn Edison, The Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light, and the operating companies of Stone and Webster, Inc., and the H. M. Bylesby Engineering and Management Corporation.⁹²

The relation between such welfare plans and attempts to check union influence is shown by the following statement by a writer in the *Electrical World*:

The increasing power of the unions and the support they are receiving all over the world in spite of some of their unscrupulous actions are surface indications of the growing indifference and even antagonism of their employees which the large corporations have felt for a long time. The pension systems introduced during the last few years by some of the large railroad and industrial interests and the selling of stock to employees under favorable terms have been among the first crude attempts to combat this growing evil in America.⁹³

Neither direct nor indirect anti-union activities were recognized as serious obstacles to the success of the Brotherhood's activities until the 1913-1916 period had been reached. The secession movement and unemployment had weakened the union and heightened the success of anti-union activities. The following excerpt from President McNulty's 1915 Report indicates the seriousness of the situation:

The position of an Organizer during times of business depression is not an enviable one, for it is, indeed, a hard proposition to interest the

⁹²*Proceedings, 35th Annual Convention, N. E. L. A., 1912, p. 283.*

⁹³Communication, W. L. Waters—*Electrical World*, Vol. 61, No. 1, January 4, 1913, p. 55.

unorganized workers in organization when they are out of work. Some employers have resorted to the employment of private detectives the moment an Organizer of our Brotherhood arrives in their territory. In one particular case in Jersey City, N. J., the public service corporation of New Jersey placed private detectives on the trail of our Organizer. He had been working in Jersey City for a short period and had succeeded in interesting many of the non-union electrical workers employed by this corporation.

Our Local Union there was much pleased with the work done by our Organizer, when one morning, without any previous notice, all union men were called to the office of one of the officials of this company and told that if they desired to retain their positions with the company they would have to resign from our Union. Most of them complied with the company's request and sent their resignations to our Local, and those that did not were discharged. It is reasons of this kind that forced us to discontinue reports of our Organizers in our Official Journal, as the said reports were a warning to our antagonistic employers that our Organizer was either going to work in their locality or had been working there. Such employers, on receiving this information, laid their plans so as to counteract our every move.⁸⁶

In spite of these difficulties, however, union activities in bettering conditions in the industry were not entirely unsuccessful. More or less definite information is available concerning nineteen agreements between branches of the Brotherhood and electric light and power companies. Fourteen of them were signed agreements. Strikes were responsible for these agreements in only two cases. During this same period, local unions reported that companies in St. Louis, Beaumont, Texas, and Rochester, New York, voluntarily raised the wages of their employees, many of whom were union men.⁸⁶ In the latter case, the action of the Rochester Railway and Light Company was attributed to the fact that members of the Local employed by the Home Telephone Company had recently secured higher wages through a strike.⁸⁶

As early as 1903, the Brotherhood had attempted to keep pace with the tendency toward consolidation among central station companies, which was beginning to evidence itself even at that early date, through the formation of District Councils. These District Councils entered into agreements with companies, the employees of which belonged to two or more local unions.⁸⁷ These

⁸⁶*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1915, p. 34.

⁸⁷See n. 26 above.

⁸⁸*Electrical Worker*, April, 1916, p. 670.

⁸⁹See p. 33 and n. 36 above.

attempts took a new direction during this period. On March 6, 1915, delegates from all outside and mixed local unions in the State of New York met at Syracuse for the purpose of drafting a state agreement for the Light and Power Companies.⁹⁸ An agreement was drawn up and approved by all of the unions concerned. International Vice-President Bugniazet presented it to the President of the Empire State Gas and Electric Association. The Association decided that it could not act on the agreement as it was simply a legislative and efficiency organization. The matter was apparently dropped by the unions and their efforts were turned to the passage of safety legislation for electrical workers.⁹⁹

As is common when unemployment is prevalent, very few strikes occurred. Out of six strikes recorded during this period, two were successful, two were lost, and the outcome of the others is not known. The strike of Locals No. 246 and 93 of Steubenville and East Liverpool, Ohio, against the East Liverpool Traction and Light Company, The Ohio River Power Company, and The Steubenville Traction and Light Company is unique in that it resulted from disagreement over a provision in the new agreement concerning arbitration rather than disagreement over wages, hours, or union recognition. The union was successful, after a strike of slightly over a week, largely because of the support of the public and the Jefferson County Trades and Labor Council.¹⁰⁰

The period from the latter part of 1913 down to the spring of 1916 was largely one of recovery from the secession movement. This recovery was retarded by poor business conditions and unemployment. The tendency of members of the Brotherhood to migrate to other cities in search of employment made it difficult to hold old members. Increased anti-union activities on the part of employers made it very difficult to secure new members. In general, the influence of the Brotherhood upon wages

⁹⁸W. R. McLean, Local No. 45, Buffalo—*Electrical Worker*, March, 1915, p. 170.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, June, 1915, p. 394. Also, G. M. Bugniazet, International Vice-President—*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1915, p. 118.

¹⁰⁰L. C. Grasser, International Vice-President—*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1915, pp. 134, 135.

and working conditions during this period was insignificant. Local unions did little more than regain the ground lost during the secession period.

5 *War Influences, 1916-1920*—The change from the industrial depression of 1913-1915 to the prosperity of 1916-1920 was an abrupt one. The condition of the labor movement changed with it. Unemployment was superseded by labor scarcity. Organized labor grew in numbers¹⁰¹ and influence. Strikes were frequent and relatively successful. The general level of wages increased greatly.

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers fully appreciated the opportunities of the period. In May, 1916, the official journal contained the following editorial:

The time is here and now to organize. We are in the midst of a period of prosperity. Industrial activity is at its height, employers are increasing wages, reducing the hours of labor, and giving bonuses to their employees. All for the purpose of keeping them from joining labor unions. The non-unionists are aware of these facts and know that if they hope to retain and enjoy these concessions they must organize. They realize that the time is now for them to assert their rights, they know full well that the employers will hesitate a long time before discharging them for joining a trades union, as the possibility of getting competent men to take their places is not at all favorable or likely.¹⁰²

At about the same time, the *Electrical World* also reported that "capital is willing to satisfy almost the last demand in order to keep men at work. Organized labor views the present as its day and for the most part is in absolute control."¹⁰³

The total membership of the Brotherhood increased steadily during this period. It was probably less than 40,000 early in 1916. In 1917, it was almost 60,000. In 1919, there was a membership of over 120,000. In 1920, approximately 142,000 electrical workers carried union cards.¹⁰⁴ Although the increase from 1917 to 1920 was greatest in such government-controlled industries as

¹⁰¹From 1915 to 1920, labor organizations gained 2,503,100 members. Wolman, *op cit*, p. 33.

¹⁰²*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, May, 1916, p. 717.

¹⁰³Editorial—*Electrical World*, Vol. 67, No. 19, May 6, 1916, p. 1072.

¹⁰⁴See Table I, p. 32 and pp. 34 and 35. There were 35,533 members, July 31, 1915, and there is little indication of any substantial increase until the spring of 1916.

the railroads and shipyards,¹⁰⁶ other branches of the trade also felt the increase in the number of union electrical workers

One hundred ninety-five cases are on record in which electric light and power companies entered into agreements with branches of the Brotherhood. The evidence shows that 108 were in the nature of signed contracts, 84 were verbal understandings, and 3 were verbal amendments providing a higher wage than was specified in the signed agreements already in effect.¹⁰⁸

Though the provisions of these agreements varied widely, enough of them were common to most of the agreements to permit them to be described in a general manner. Most of the signed agreements called for closed union shop or preferential union shop¹⁰⁷ conditions. The verbal understandings, as a rule, merely provided that union men should not be discriminated against. Practically all of the agreements covered linemen, many were concerned only with linemen. Cable splicers, troublemen, metermen, station operators, station electrical repair men, and other types of electrical workers were frequently included. A few agreements, such as that entered into by the Scranton Electric Company and Local No. 81 in July, 1918,¹⁰⁸ covered all classifications of central station workers, including steam engineers, firemen, oilers, janitors, truck drivers, and other non-electrical workers. Signed agreements were usually for a term of one year, though some were for a longer term.¹⁰⁹ Verbal understandings were generally of indefinite duration.

The basic provision of all agreements was that relating to wages. Generalizations concerning wages are apt to be inaccurate and misleading, especially when they are based on rather fragmentary data. Yet some indication of the tendency of line-

¹⁰⁶See pp. 34 and 35.

¹⁰⁷See n. 26 above.

¹⁰⁸Under this plan, preference is given to union workers, but if the union cannot fill the vacancies other workers may be engaged. G. S. Watkins—*An Introduction to the Study of Labor Problems*, p. 378.

¹⁰⁹*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, October, 1918, p. 105.

¹¹⁰Local No. 245 signed an agreement with the Toledo Railway and Light Company, April 1, 1916, for a term of three years. It was amended by the granting of higher wages in May, 1918, after some trouble with the Company. *Ibid.*, May, 1918, p. 512. Other long-term agreements have

men's wages during this period of rising prices may be given by a study of wage data, obtained from the informal reports of local unions. Thirty-six hourly wage rates reported during 1916 ranged from 30c to 58c, with 40c the most typical rate. Thirty-nine hourly wage rates in 1917 ranged from 31½c to 62½c. Fifty cents was the most typical rate, though almost as many 44c rates were reported. During 1918, fifty-two rates ranged from 40c to 78c per hour, with 62½c the modal rate. Thirty-six 1919 rates varied from 45c to \$1.00 per hour, with a typical wage of 75c. During 1920, twenty-five hourly rates ranged from 42c to \$1.01½ per hour. Though 75c was the rate of greatest frequency, rates of 87½c and \$1.00 were each almost as numerous. These rates were taken, for the most part, from wage scales which had been secured through union influence, hence, the increase in the general level of linemen's wages, in so far as it is indicated by the above data, may be attributed to union influence.¹¹⁰ The underlying reason, of course, for the success of union attempts to increase wages was that labor was scarce during this period relative to the demand for it.

Provisions relating to the length of the working day were almost as common as wage provisions. The nine-hour day was generally specified in agreements drawn up during the earlier years of the period, though the eight-hour day for linemen and other central station employees was not uncommon. The ten-hour day had not entirely disappeared.¹¹¹ Station operators in a few companies still worked twelve hours.¹¹² Agreements entered into in 1919 and 1920 provided for eight hours more often than nine, and the ten-hour day had practically disappeared.

¹¹⁰No attempt is made to impart statistical accuracy to these figures. They are merely wage rates obtained from informal reports from local unions in ninety different cities concerning working conditions in electric light and power companies within their jurisdiction.

¹¹¹Linemen of the Buffalo General Electric Company worked ten hours per day in May, 1916. *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, May, 1916, p. 733. A year later, they were working nine hours per day. *Ibid.*, May, 1917, p. 623.

¹¹²The twelve-hour day was provided for operators in an agreement entered into between the Monongahela Valley Traction Company and Local Unions No. 755 of Clarksburg and No. 756 of Fairmont, West Virginia—*Ibid.*, August, 1918, p. 36.

Saturday half-holidays the year around became general during this period. Time spent in traveling between the company's store-room and the scene of the linemen's daily work was dealt with in most agreements. Companies were usually willing that half of this traveling time should be included in the regular working day, but it was only where union influence was exceptionally strong that agreements specified that all traveling should be done on company time.

Many agreements dealt with the question of compensation for hourly employees on holidays and on days when weather prevented outside work. Union demands for full time on such occasions were often successful during this period. Some agreements, however, provided that only a small percentage of this "lost time" should be paid by the companies. A few specifically provided that no compensation was to be paid to linemen and other outside workers during any periods of idleness.¹¹³

Though the unions generally tried to secure provisions calling for "double time" for all work outside the regular hours, the usual provision during this period was "time and one-half" for ordinary overtime and "double time" on Sundays and holidays. Monthly employees received no extra compensation for overtime work. Some companies offered their linemen the alternative of monthly or hourly rates of pay. Monthly employees, under this plan, would receive payment for the entire month, including days on which they were idle because of inclement weather or sickness and other reasons. It was understood, however, that they were to receive no extra compensation for overtime work. Hourly employees were to receive "time and one-half" or "double time," according to the circumstances, for all overtime, but were to receive no compensation during periods of enforced idleness.¹¹⁴ The policy of the union has generally been in favor

¹¹³The Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company, in February, 1920, paid its linemen 3 per cent of the regular rate during such periods of idleness. *Ibid.*, March, 1920, p. 449. Local No. 109's agreement with the People's Light and Power Company of Rock Island, Illinois, provided that the companies were to pay no compensation during such periods. *Ibid.*, June, 1919, p. 569.

¹¹⁴Local No. 251, of Pine Bluff, Arkansas, reported that the light company, in March, 1917, paid \$3.00 for nine hours, with time and one-half

of combining the advantages of the two plans, as follows: payment by the hour, extra compensation for overtime, and no lost time on account of inclement weather or holidays. During this period of labor scarcity and union strength, the union was often successful in securing these conditions. The question of whether or not linemen and other electrical workers should be paid by the hour or the month is a surface indication of a more fundamental difference of opinion between central station employers and union leaders. Employers are interested in developing a "family spirit" on the part of regular employees and feel that monthly workers are more apt to feel that they are a permanent part of the company "family" than hourly workers. Union leaders have generally been interested in developing loyalty to the union at the expense, if necessary, of the men's loyalty to the company. Hourly employees have proved to be more susceptible to union influence.¹¹⁵

In addition to the above provisions, which were common to most agreements during this period, many others were included in some of the agreements. Weekly pay-days were sometimes insisted upon by local unions.¹¹⁶ In August, 1919, the Scranton Electric Company agreed that the seniority principle should apply to all employees.¹¹⁷ A unique provision was that concerning the purchase of automobiles to be used by metermen of the Detroit Edison Company. Each man agreed to purchase a car, paying for it at the rate of \$10 per week. The company agreed to pay \$16 per week for the use of the machine and to keep the

for overtime, or \$75 per month, "straight time." J. D. McCrary—*Ibid*, March, 1917, p. 510.

¹¹⁵These conclusions are based on interviews with utility officials, the writer's observations as an employee of the Public Service Company of Northern Illinois, and the fact that practically all agreements entered into by unions embody hourly rates to a greater extent than monthly rates. These conclusions would seem to be substantiated by the statement of a member of Local No. 617 to the effect that "the Pacific Gas and Electric Company reaffirmed their open shop plan a few days ago by putting the linemen on a monthly basis, \$170 per month." *Ibid*, November, 1927, p. 506.

¹¹⁶Weekly pay-days were embodied in an agreement signed by the Charleston (S. C.) Consolidated Light and Power Company. *Ibid*, July, 1918, p. 620.

¹¹⁷*Ibid*, September, 1919, p. 104.

machine in repair free of charge.¹¹⁸ Arbitration committees to settle grievances which might arise during the life of the agreement were sometimes provided.¹¹⁹ The hazardous nature of the linemen's occupation was recognized in a few instances. In June, 1919, the Houston Light and Power Company agreed to pay the members of Local No 66 at twice the regular hourly rate of pay, when they worked on poles over fifty-five feet high.¹²⁰ The New Orleans Railway and Light Company in October, 1916, agreed to pay their union linemen, who were injured through no fault of their own, full wages during the time they were disabled, providing this period did not exceed nine months.¹²¹ The wages of apprentice linemen and the term of their apprenticeship were recognized in many agreements. In only a few of them, however, was the ratio of journeymen to apprentices in the employ of the company specified.¹²²

All except 27 of the 195 agreements studied during this period were secured peaceably. Strikes were resorted to in those cases. In ten cases, strikes were avoided through the assistance of government conciliators. In the other 158 cases, agreements were reached through peaceful negotiations between union representatives and company officials. Eighteen of the total number were joint agreements involving two or more locals. One of these, an agreement with the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, in July, 1918, affected twenty locals of the International Brotherhood.¹²³

Out of a total of eighty-four strikes during this period, concerning which information is available, the evidence indicates that

¹¹⁸*Ibid*, October, 1920, p 80

¹¹⁹Local No 101, of Cincinnati, entered into an agreement with the Union Gas and Electric Company in November, 1917, which provided for an arbitration committee of three members—one to be appointed by the company, one by the union, and the third to be selected by the first two. *Ibid*, November, 1917, p 196

¹²⁰*Ibid*, June, 1919, p 567

¹²¹E M Smith, Local No 4—*Ibid*, December, 1916, p 311

¹²²An example of such a provision is found in an agreement between Local No 185 of Helena, Montana, and the Helena Light and Railway Company. It provided that the ratio of apprentices was not to exceed one to every five journeymen employed. *Ibid*, July, 1916, p 863

¹²³*Electrical World*, Vol 72, No 6, August 10, 1918, p 271

thirty-eight were won by the union or compromised satisfactorily.¹²⁴ Twenty-three were lost or settled unsatisfactorily. One of the latter, a strike of Local No. 213, of Vancouver, against the British Columbia Electric Company, the Western Canada Power Company, and the British Columbia Telegraph Company, was called off and the local suspended by the International Office on the ground that it violated existing agreements.¹²⁵ Information concerning the outcome of the other twenty-three strikes is not available. In at least ten of the total number of strikes, representatives of the U. S. Department of Labor attempted to assist the contending parties toward reaching a settlement.

The nature of the strikes during this period can best be discovered by studying a few of the more important ones in some detail. Four strikes are here described. Two of them were successful. The other two are examples of strikes which were apparently successful until the arrival of the industrial depression and were then lost, owing to the fact that the union was unwilling to compromise.

On May 17, 1916, approximately 500 linemen, troublemen, and metermen of the Commonwealth Edison Company and thirty employees of the Public Service Company of Northern Illinois, the two companies serving Chicago and its suburbs, went on strike. For ten or fifteen years prior to this time, the efforts of Local No. 9, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, to organize these men had been unsuccessful. It was not until after the companies had refused the requests of these unorganized men for higher wages that the business agent of Local No. 9 was able to persuade them to join the union. The strike was conducted by the union. The Public Service Company granted most of the demands of the union at the end of three days and the men returned to work. The Edison employees re-

¹²⁴Data concerning eleven of these strikes, while complete enough to warrant the conclusion that they were successful, do not give sufficient information concerning the settlement reached to warrant their inclusion in the twenty-seven cases of agreements obtained through strikes, which were mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

¹²⁵E. Ingels, International Vice-President—*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1919, p. 205. Also, the 1921 *Report*, p. 193.

mained on strike for three weeks, as a settlement was not reached until June 5¹²⁶

This settlement was in the nature of a compromise. The strikers demanded a 30 per cent increase in wages and recognition of the union. The company refused to recognize the union but agreed to permit those who desired to carry union cards to do so. The settlement embodied a 16 per cent wage increase, amounting to 50c per day for linemen, 25c per day for groundmen, and \$16 per month for monthly workers, except for metermen. The latter were granted wage increases ranging from \$5.00 to \$30 per month, according to length of service.¹²⁷

At the commencement of the strike, operators in the powerhouses and sub-stations of the company threatened to walk out in sympathy. Instead of striking, however, they all signed a petition asking for increased wages. In this petition it was pointed out that electric light rates had recently been reduced to the public, the saving accruing to the latter amounting to about \$1,000,000 annually. The men asked for higher wages on the ground that the company, if able to save the public this amount, ought to be able to pay reasonably high wages. An increase was granted to the operators, though not to the extent of 25 per cent, as petitioned.¹²⁸

A few days previous to the settlement of the strike, eight men were arrested. According to the *Electrical World*, these men had "committed no less than twelve blow-up jobs to poles and manholes. When captured, 250 sticks of dynamite, 16 boxes of nitro-caps, fulminating caps, cartridges, revolvers, and fuses were confiscated. In addition to the dynamiting, numerous meters were damaged and several large apartment buildings were cut off during the evening. Blow-torches were placed in manholes, burning cables and resulting in short-circuits. The dynamiters confessed to being employed by Local No. 9 at a rate of \$6.00 per day."¹²⁹

¹²⁶E. H. Curtis, Local No. 9—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, July, 1916, pp. 839-40.

¹²⁷*Electrical World*, Vol. 67, No. 24, June 10, 1916, p. 1344.

¹²⁸*Ibid*.

¹²⁹*Ibid*.

A somewhat different explanation of this violence is presented in the following editorial of the *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, the union publication

In every industrial conflict, strikers are arrested charged with committing unlawful acts, for no other purpose than to dishearten the strikers so that they will desert their union and go back to work. The employers are not responsible for this only to the extent of taking the word of the strike-breaking agencies, who manufacture evidence against the strikers for the purpose of bleeding the employers for large sums of money which they state they have to use in order to trap the offenders who exist only in their own minds. They think nothing of having some unlawful act committed by one or more of their hirelings during a strike and charge the strikers with the crime. After hearing the local strike committee of Local No. 9, we are convinced absolutely that our boys in Chicago are innocent of the charges against them. We firmly believe that if any property was destroyed during the Commonwealth strike, it was destroyed by the strike-breaking detectives in the employ of that corporation in order to pad their expense accounts. The strike is now settled and the men affected are back at work—excepting those charged with destruction of property now awaiting trial.¹²⁰

Although the strike was comparatively successful and most of the men working as linemen, troublemen, and metermen belonged to the union at the time of the settlement, the settlement was purely verbal. The next few years were replete with controversies between the union and the Edison Company.¹²¹ Union influence in the Company has steadily declined in recent years, until, at the present time, very few members of Local No. 9 are employed.¹²²

One of the best examples of the efficacy of the strike as a union weapon is the successful strike of Local No. 84 against the Georgia Railway and Power Company of Atlanta. The strike was called August 12, 1916, and was not settled until

¹²⁰*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, July, 1916, p. 830.

¹²¹Reports of the conciliation activities of the U. S. Dept. of Labor show that representatives of that department assisted in the settlement of a controversy in June, 1918 (*Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 7, No. 1, July, 1918, p. 205), and averted a strike in February, 1919 (*Ibid.*, Vol. 8, No. 3, March, 1919, p. 907).

¹²²Thus statement is based upon interviews with officials of the company and the union. The Public Service Company employees, according to company officials, dropped out of the union immediately after the wage increase was granted. Further increases were voluntarily granted after the State Commission had granted rate increases.

March, 1919¹⁸⁸ Since then, signed agreements have been in effect almost continuously and few companies are as strongly unionized at present¹⁸⁴

The strike was caused by the dismissal of eighteen men for belonging to the union. As one of the members expressed it, "We are making our fight for principle, not for money, nor shorter hours or better conditions, but for the right to organize."¹⁸⁵ Approximately 150 hnenmen walked out. They were soon joined by the street railway and gas workers. The agreement entered into in March, 1919, provided for recognition of the union, the reinstatement of the original eighteen men who had been discriminated against and all foremen, the placing of those strikers who desired to be re-employed on a preferential list, and a wage increase of 25 per cent over the prevailing rate of wages and 50 per cent over what was paid at the time of the strike.¹⁸⁶

During the course of the strike, fifteen members of Local No 84 and some other strikers were tried for dynamiting company property and for perjury. Members of labor organizations from various parts of the country contributed to the support of these men and to the strikers in general. The men were acquitted eventually, after a great amount of expense.¹⁸⁷

In the early part of 1917, the U S Department of Labor reported that its representatives were unable to adjust the difficulty.¹⁸⁸ Corporate as well as labor interests recognized it as a "finish fight" over the question of the right to organize. Two dictaphones, according to the report of the union, were found in the office of R E Gans, president of the Atlanta Federation of Trades and in whose office secret conferences regarding the strike were held. The wires led to the office of J H Porter, an attorney. It was practically impossible for strikers to secure employment in Atlanta. With the exception of about forty men, who remained in Atlanta to prevent the company from securing men, the

¹⁸⁸*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, March, 1919, p 374

¹⁸⁴The writer has definite information concerning the signing of agreements in the spring of 1919, 1921, 1925, and 1927. See n 26 above.

¹⁸⁵J A Harper, Local No 84—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, December, 1916, p 318.

¹⁸⁶*Ibid*, March, 1919, p 314.

¹⁸⁷J A Harper, Local No 84—*Ibid*, June, 1917, p 690.

¹⁸⁸*Monthly Labor Review*, Vol 4, No 2, May, 1917, p 793.

strikers were compelled to go to other states to find work. Most of them worked in Ohio until the strike was settled.¹³⁰

The extent to which public interest was aroused is indicated by the following statement: "We have with us Brother Callan, a Methodist Minister, who has given up his church and is giving his whole time to our cause. We are having meetings in different parts of the city to expound our cause and Brother Callan has charge of these meetings and is doing a great deal of good in this way, as all three of the daily papers are against us."¹⁴⁰

The success of this strike has been attributed very largely to the support of organized labor in Atlanta and throughout the country and to the skillful leadership of the local Business Agent.¹⁴¹

The failure of a number of strikes during the latter years of this period was due to the fact that unions refused to compromise with the company during prosperous times and were unable to contend with conditions presented by the succeeding period of depression. This seems to have been the case in the strike against the Public Service Corporation of New Jersey. In October, 1919, Local No. 15 of Jersey City asked that linemen's wages be increased from 62½¢ to 87½¢ per hour and that compensation of line foremen and operators be increased proportionately. The company declared that it was unable to grant any increase in wages and, feeling that a strike was inevitable, began to provide for strike-breakers. Cots and a commissary outfit were installed in one of the company buildings. All of the linemen and most of the operators left their work.

On account of the proximity of the various cities in the state in which the company operated, the officers of Local No. 15 saw that it would be necessary to secure the support of local unions in these other cities. Locals No. 233, of Newark, No. 11 of Paterson, No. 29 of Trenton, and No. 386, of New York City, the latter a cable splicers' local, upon being appealed to, responded by striking their jobs. Approximately 500 linemen and operators of the company were directly involved. Very few of them suf-

¹³⁰J. H. Childress, Local No. 84—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, March, 1917, p. 500.

¹³¹J. A. Harper, Local No. 84—*Ibid.*, December, 1916, p. 318.

¹⁴⁰*Op. cit.*, March, 1919, p. 374.

ferred from unemployment, however, as the building trade unions throughout the state secured work for them as carpenters, electricians, etc.¹⁴²

In June, 1920, company officials offered to compromise to the extent of 75c per hour, but the union representatives refused to accept anything less than their original demand of 87½c.¹⁴³ The strike continued on into the period of depression and was apparently lost.¹⁴⁴

Few electric light strikes have involved as many workers as the unsuccessful Texas Power and Light Company strike. At one time, 3,000 men were out. The difficulty began on March 11, 1919, when sixty members of Local No. 69, employed by the Dallas Power and Light Company, a subsidiary of the Texas Company, struck for higher wages and a closed union shop. Within a few weeks the strike spread to other towns served by the latter company and its subsidiaries. Local unions in Waco, Fort Worth, Sherman, Brownwood, Cleburne, Dennison, Palestine, Paris, Temple, Wichita Falls, Cisco, and Terrell were directly involved.¹⁴⁵ Offers of local, state, and national officials to arbitrate the difficulty were refused.¹⁴⁶

On May 15, all inside wiremen in the affected district struck in sympathy with the linemen. All building tradesmen in Dallas struck in sympathy on June 2 and remained out until June 16, when they were ordered back to work by their international officers.¹⁴⁷ On June 11, armed strike-breakers and strikers clashed

¹⁴²*Ibid.*, December, 1919, pp. 265-266.

¹⁴³*Ibid.*, June, 1920, p. 665.

¹⁴⁴Very few members of Locals No. 15 and 233 were employed by the company in 1924. E. F. Kloter, International Vice-President—*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1925, p. 68. *The Directory of Local Unions for the Last Quarter of 1927, IBEW*, shows that Locals No. 11 and No. 29 are no longer in existence.

¹⁴⁵G. H. Cogburn, Local No. 69 (Dallas)—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, April, 1919, p. 455.

¹⁴⁶The company told both the Mayor of Dallas and C. A. Woodman, State Labor Commissioner, that they had nothing to arbitrate. Joseph Meyer, a representative of the U. S. Dept. of Labor, reported in May, 1919, that he was unable to adjust the difficulty. *Ibid.* Also, *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 8, No. 5, May, 1919, p. 1516.

¹⁴⁷*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, July, 1919, pp. 633-634.

One of the former was killed. Seven union electrical workers were arrested. Four were indicted by the grand jury for murder and spent about two weeks in jail.¹⁴⁸ One was convicted of manslaughter and three were acquitted. The convicted man served in the penitentiary only a short time before he was pardoned by the Governor of Texas.¹⁴⁹

In November, union officials discovered that the light companies in Ranger, Eastland, Desmond, Deleen, and Dublin were part of the Texas Power and Light Company System. The linemen of these companies had been organized during the summer, consequently, the strike was extended to these towns, all of which were located in the vicinity of the oil fields. Many of the striking linemen from all over the system secured work with the various oil companies and, hence, did not suffer greatly during the strike.¹⁵⁰

During the spring of 1920, some of the strikers began to weaken. Local No. 338, of Dennison, in May, declared the company "fair" and its members went back to work under open-shop conditions.¹⁵¹ By the middle of August, only eight of the fifteen local unions which had been involved in the strike at some time were still active. On the advice of Vice-President Tracy, they called the strike off on August 15, 1920. This officer then attempted to secure increased wages from the company officials, but they refused to grant any concessions or recognize the union. The strike was a complete failure.¹⁵²

The majority of the strikes which were settled before the end of the period of prosperity were successful, in some measure. Wages advanced rapidly. Trade union activities constituted a serious problem for officials of electric light and power companies.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid*

¹⁴⁹D. W. Tracy, International Vice-President—*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1921, p. 228.

¹⁵⁰J. P. Callan, Local No. 942—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, December, 1919, p. 279.

¹⁵¹H. T. Robinson, Local No. 69—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, June, 1920, p. 667.

¹⁵²D. W. Tracy, International Vice-President—*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1921, p. 228.

In December, 1917, Vice-President J. W. Lieb, of the New York Edison Company, characterized the labor situation in his company as "disquieting"¹⁵³ About a year later, a writer in the *Electrical World* described the situation as follows

Employees are restless and are demanding higher and higher wages, and frequently leaving on short notice Operators, consequently, must spend valuable time in training raw recruits and equipment depreciates rapidly because of inexperience and neglect Employees' bonuses for good and continued service have been successful to a degree but have not solved the problem So serious has this become that some of the very small companies have curtailed their hours of service simply because they could not secure help with which to operate a 24-hour schedule¹⁵⁴

Labor problems in the industry were discussed at length at the 1919 Convention of the National Electric Light Association It was provided that a committee be appointed to study the labor question in all its phases In the course of the discussion, one delegate recognized the influence of trade unions upon working conditions and wages as follows

When the committee investigates the wage or compensation of labor, it should also investigate the wage of weekly and monthly employees as well as the wage of labor paid by the hour The trade unions have demanded and obtained wage increases corresponding with higher living costs It is, therefore, only just that salaried employees should be raised to a new wage level This change, if made spontaneously by the electrical industry, would reflect much credit to the industry, while, if not granted, might result in unionizing clerical and other occupations¹⁵⁵

The tendency toward the establishment of welfare departments as a means of developing the loyalty of employees, which was noted in earlier periods,¹⁵⁶ was given a great impetus by the increase in the influence of trade unions The activities of such departments took a new direction toward the end of this period, as the idea of employee representation or the "company union" was put into practice by a number of companies One of the first instances of this was the foundation of the "Doherty Fraternity" for the employees of the various companies con-

¹⁵³*Electrical World*, Vol 70, No 26, December 29, 1917, p 1255

¹⁵⁴*Ibid*, Vol 72, No 23, December 27, 1918, p 1084

¹⁵⁵A L Loiseaux—*Proceedings, 42nd Convention, N.E.L.A.*, 1919,

p 315

¹⁵⁶See p 65

trolled by the Doherty interests¹⁸⁷ The direct effect of this development upon the union is shown clearly by the following statement by a member of Local No. 111, of Denver.

I am sorry to say that the Doherty Fraternity have made more progress than any of the loyal members of No. 111 had any idea they would make They have succeeded in drawing away from us a few of what we deemed as good, loyal members of the I.B. This just goes to show what a company organization will do if it is not stopped in time Not less than three months ago, we were 100 per cent organized with the Gas Co Now, we are 75 per cent, giving the Doherty Fraternity about 25 per cent Beware of this outfit, because they are working underground schemes, building air castles for the men, promising things that are absolutely impossible and a lot of the weaker boys are falling for it¹⁸⁸

In June, 1919, the Employees Mutual Benefit Association of the Union Electric Light and Power Company, of St. Louis, which has been in existence for some years as a purely benefit association, was authorized to elect one of its members to represent the employees on the Board of Directors of the Company¹⁸⁹ In May, 1920, the Public Service Company of Northern Illinois established the "Co-operative Council," which was in the nature of an employee representation plan¹⁹⁰ Similar plans were adopted by other central station companies during this period For the most part, however, the company union movement did not get fully under way until the power of the trade unions had been broken, to quite an extent, by the depression which set in toward the end of 1920

¹⁸⁷The applicant to membership in this organization recognized that it demanded of him "(1) That I will study the principles upon which my country was founded, promote their continuance and do all that I can to destroy disloyalty to them (2) A sincere belief in the business policies and business philosophy of Henry L. Doherty (3) My best efforts to make the character, quality, merit, service, reputation and external appearance of all Doherty properties excel that of all contemporaries (4) That I will strive as though the sole support of the Doherty Organization depended upon my own efforts (5) That I will be kind and loyal to the men who supervise my work and to those whose work I supervise" *Electrical World*, Vol. 73, No. 22, May 31, 1919, p. 1186

¹⁸⁸G. W. Roberts—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, June, 1920, p. 669

¹⁸⁹*Electrical World*, Vol. 73, No. 26, June 28, 1919, p. 1403

¹⁹⁰*Co-Operative Council of the Public Service Corporation of Northern Illinois* (3d Ed.), January, 1926, p. 7

The period of 1916-1920 was one of great industrial prosperity and labor scarcity. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, largely because of these general conditions, exerted an important influence upon wages and working conditions in the central station industry. A large number of agreements, many of them of a very comprehensive nature, were entered into by companies and branches of the union. Wages at the end of the period were approximately twice as large as in 1916. Hours were reduced and working conditions improved. These concessions were not secured without a struggle. Some employers were unwilling to recognize the union and grant its demands. Many were unable to grant these demands owing to the fact that soaring prices of fuel and other necessary supplies as well as increased labor costs had been recognized by public service commissions as just grounds for increased rates only in a very tardy manner. Hence strikes were frequent, and the public was seriously inconvenienced in several cases. Strikes were prevented in a comparatively small number of instances and settlements of strikes hastened in a few others by such voluntary arbitration agencies as labor boards of various state governments, the United States Department of Labor and the National War Labor Board, and unofficial arbitration boards chosen by the contending parties. Compulsory arbitration was experienced in one case when the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations granted union linemen employed by the Topeka Edison Company a slight increase in wages.¹⁰¹

The indirect effect of this increase in the influence of trade unions on wages and working conditions in the industry is probably of greater importance than the actual improvements secured. The development of welfare plans and the establishment of "company unions" or employee representation bodies during this period were almost entirely the results of the marked increase in trade union influence. Of greater importance than the actual establishment of employee representation machinery was the change in employer philosophy which that action represented. The recognition of the fact that employees should have some voice in affairs concerning their welfare, even though few em-

¹⁰¹*Electrical World*, Vol 75, No 14, April 3, 1920, p 303

ployers were willing to admit that that voice should be exercised through the independent trade union, constitutes one of the great social gains of the period

6 *Decline in Influence, 1920-1924*—The increase in the total membership of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers between 1917 and 1920 was followed by almost as remarkable a decrease between 1920 and 1923. There were 57,112 electrical workers who belonged to the organization in 1917. Approximately 142,000 belonged in 1920. There were 69,200 members in 1923.¹⁶² There is little reason to believe that there was any marked increase in membership before the summer of 1924.

Much of this loss in membership, as previously indicated, was due to the shutting down of a large part of the ship-building industry, to the return of the railroads to private ownership and to the unsuccessful railroad shopcrafts strike in 1921.¹⁶³ This decrease in the total membership was reflected in other branches of the electrical trade, including the electric light and power industry. For instance, only 21 of the 200 linemen and other electrical workers who had been members of Local No. 32, of Lima, Ohio, early in 1920 belonged to the local in March, 1922.¹⁶⁴ International Vice-President Vickers estimated that linemen's local unions throughout California lost about half their members between 1921 and 1923.¹⁶⁵ Similar losses in membership were reported in other sections of the country. A number of linemen's locals which had exercised a strong influence among central station employees during the preceding period went out of existence.¹⁶⁶

This decline in membership was accompanied by a decline in union influence in the industry. The Pacific Gas and Electric

¹⁶²See Table I, p. 32 and p. 34.

¹⁶³See p. 35.

¹⁶⁴W. Barger, Local No. 32—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, March, 1922, p. 180.

¹⁶⁵T. C. Vickers—*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1923, p. 81.

¹⁶⁶Local No. 24 claimed 90 per cent of the electrical workers of the Minneapolis General Electric Company in 1920. E. M. Stanchfield—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, February, 1920, p. 385. A few years later, Vice-President Broach reported that he had "closed up the affairs of the local." *Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1923, p. 71.

Company, for instance, a company in which union influence had been strong for many years, terminated its agreement with the Brotherhood. Unsuccessful strikes against the Great Western Power Company and the Western States Gas and Electric Company, other California companies which had previously signed agreements with the Brotherhood, tended further to destroy union influence in that state.¹⁶⁷ Between September, 1920, and April, 1924, only twenty-three agreements were entered into between central station companies and branches of the I B E W, according to available information.¹⁶⁸ Eighteen of them were apparently signed agreements, the others being informal, verbal understandings. Many of them simply provided for the maintenance of existing wage scales and working conditions. The union agreed to wage reductions in several instances. Local No. 66, for instance, signed an agreement with the Houston Light and Power Company in June, 1922, which provided for a reduction of 50c per day for linemen.¹⁶⁹ Many of the wage increases which were granted during this period were granted in 1923 and 1924 and simply offset reductions which had occurred in 1920, 1921, and 1922.

Only two of the twenty-three strikes reported during this period were successful. Most of them were vain attempts to prevent wage reductions or to force the company to continue to deal with the union. The usual outcome was that the union called the strike off and announced that "the job is now open to union men who care to accept employment from such a concern."¹⁷⁰ The strike of members of Local No. 309, of East St. Louis, Illinois, against the Illinois Light and Power Company, Southern Division, was terminated by the International office on the ground that it had not been authorized by that office and that it violated existing agreements with the company.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷T. C. Vickers—*Report of Officers, I B E W*, 1923, p. 81.

¹⁶⁸See n. 26 above.

¹⁶⁹D. W. Tracy, International Vice-President—*Report of Officers, I B E W*, 1923, p. 75.

¹⁷⁰Locals No. 755 and 756, of Clarksburg and Fairmont, West Virginia, called off their strike on the Monongahela West Pennsylvania Public Service Company and published such a notice. *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, June, 1924, p. 436.

¹⁷¹A union-shop agreement, covering five local unions and providing that under no circumstances should there be strikes or lockouts until

The sequence of events, during this period, in many sections of the country where union influence had previously been strong was somewhat as follows (1) the company refused to continue dealing with the union or reduced wages, (2) the union members employed by the company struck, (3) the company filled most of these places with some of the numerous unemployed "floaters," many of whom had been union members in some other locality, (4) many of the strikers left the union and returned to work, while the strike was still in progress, (5) the "loyal" members either called off the strike and returned to work under open-shop conditions and at reduced wages, joined the army of unemployed "floaters," often working as non-union men in some other locality, or left the linemen's trade for that of the inside electrical worker.

Union influence upon wages and working conditions was relatively small during this period, except in a few isolated instances where wage reductions were successfully opposed¹⁷² or where union influence prevented wages from falling as much as they might otherwise have done.¹⁷³

The underlying reason for this decline in trade union influence in the industry was the fact that business conditions were poor and that unemployment was prevalent. The electric light and power industry shared in the general depression of this period. Very little line construction work was done and many linemen were idle. In December, 1920, the Detroit Edison Company laid off 200 linemen.¹⁷⁴ In April, 1921, Local No. 32 of Lima, Ohio, reported that the light company there had gone into the hands of receivers.¹⁷⁵ Local No. 271, of Wichita, Kansas,

the joint machinery set up by the company and the locals had acted to adjust the complaint, had been in existence. A few radicals stampeded the members into striking because a groundman had been discharged for sleeping on the job. Editorial—*Ibid*, July, 1924, p. 496.

¹⁷²Local No. 500 successfully opposed a reduction by the San Antonio Public Service Co. in 1921. D. W. Tracy, International Vice-President—*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1923, p. 73.

¹⁷³In June, 1922, Local No. 51, of Peoria, reported: "Not long ago the word got around that there was going to be another cut. So we got busy and went to them for a raise. Well, we didn't get any raise, but we didn't get any cut either." *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, June, 1922, p. 359.

¹⁷⁴W. Frost, Local No. 17—*Ibid*, December, 1920, p. 239.

¹⁷⁵*Ibid*, April, 1921, p. 563.

in July, 1922, reported, "Work is scarce here Most of the linemen have taken travelers [cards] Kansas Gas and Electric Company would like to do some work, but it looks like they can't get the money to do it with"¹⁷⁶

Business conditions improved somewhat in 1923, but other factors militated against a prompt restoration of union influence in the industry Chief among them was increased anti-union activity on the part of employers This was largely in the nature of a reaction from the previous period, in which industrial conditions had enabled organized labor to demonstrate its strength Even before the period of depression became a fact, employers were searching for ways and means of checking union influence It was not until the latter part of 1920, however, when it was definitely realized that industrial prosperity had entirely disappeared, that anti-union activities became effective

These activities, as in previous periods, were of two types (1) open hostility, as illustrated by refusal to deal with unions, refusal to employ union members, and attempts to destroy or weaken local unions through detective agencies and other methods, and (2) developing the loyalty of company employees and thus destroying the desire to join unions through the development of company unions, stock ownership plans, and welfare plans of various kinds

Activities of a direct nature have been carried on, very largely, by individual central-station employers rather than employers' organizations The National Electric Light Association, the only nation-wide organization in the industry, is a loosely-knit association whose activities are almost entirely of an educational nature¹⁷⁷ As an association, it has taken no part in anti-union or "open-shop" movements which such employers' associations as the National Manufacturers Association and the National Metal Trades Association have sponsored That it was sympathetic toward such movements, however, would seem to be indicated by the fact that the following resolution by the United States Chamber of Commerce was read at the 1924 Convention and favorably commented upon

¹⁷⁶O Mann, Local No 271—*Ibid*, July, 1922, p 433

¹⁷⁷Article II, Constitution of N.E.L.A., *Proceedings, 42nd Convention, N.E.L.A.*, 1919, p 344

The Chamber's position taken through referendum in 1920 is in favor of the open shop—i.e., employment without discrimination against or in favor of men on account of membership in labor organizations. We desire to reaffirm the declaration of 1920, that the right of open-shop operation, that is, the right of employer and employee to enter into and determine the conditions of employment relations with each other, is an essential part of the individual right of contract possessed by each of the parties.¹⁷⁸

Information concerning the extent to which employers attempted to destroy union strength through detective agencies is necessarily fragmentary. The Brotherhood was very much perturbed over the question. The official journal for June, 1921, contained quotations from letters purported to have been circulated among employers by the following agencies: Dunn's National Detective Agency, Murphy Secret Service, Foster Service, Schindler, Inc., Wm. J. Burns, and Corporations' Auxiliary Company. These letters impressed upon employers the necessity and advantages of using detective service to prevent strikes, break strikes, and control local unions.¹⁷⁹ Early in the same year, the officers of the Brotherhood claimed that M. G. E. Brock, who served as recording secretary of Local No. 45, a linemen's local in Buffalo, and who had also been a respected member of linemen's locals in New York City and Baltimore, had confessed, when cornered, that he was an operative in the employ of a New York detective agency.¹⁸⁰

For the most part, however, anti-union activities on the part of electric light and power companies were confined to frank refusals to deal with the union and to developing the loyalty of their employees. The former type of action needs no further explanation. The latter type of activity is probably one of the most important developments which has ever taken place in the industry, as far as the employees are concerned. At the beginning of the period, only a few of the larger companies had established anything in the nature of employee representation or company union plans.¹⁸¹ Employee ownership of company stock had made little progress. Even in those companies where group insurance,

¹⁷⁸*Proceedings, 47th Convention, N.E.L.A., 1924*, p. 55.

¹⁷⁹*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, June, 1921, p. 711.

¹⁸⁰*Ibid.*, April, 1921, p. 556.

¹⁸¹See p. 82.

pensions, savings clubs, and other welfare plans were in effect, they were not administered as related, co-ordinate parts of a personnel policy definitely aimed at developing employee loyalty. Prior to 1919, employee relations had been considered by the National Electric Light Association only in connection with the questions of public policy and accident prevention.¹⁸² At the convention of that year, the question, as noted above,¹⁸³ was discussed and a committee appointed to study it. Definite, official recognition of the labor problem was not made until May, 1924, however, when the Convention authorized the establishment of a permanent "Industrial Relations Section" to study the problems of employment, compensation, working conditions, safety, health, education and training, publicity and information, services for employees, recreation, and organization and administration.¹⁸⁴

By the end of the period under consideration, the company union movement had become firmly established in the central station industry. It was recognized by union leaders as the direct cause of the Brotherhood's inability to regain the influence over wages and working conditions in many localities which it had enjoyed before the depression of 1920.¹⁸⁵ The company union movement was generally a part of the broader tendency toward the establishment of "industrial relations departments." These departments were formed by many companies during this period for the purpose of co-ordinating all employee activities, including employee ownership, group insurance, pensions, recreation, and other welfare or "employee service" activities, as well as the broader problems of employment, compensation, etc.¹⁸⁶

It would be inaccurate to conclude that the attempts to improve employee relations in the manner described above were intensified during this period solely because of the success of trade union activities during the previous period. It was constantly reiterated, nevertheless, by progressive central station employers that this type of program would tend to develop loyalty

¹⁸²*Proceedings, 42nd Convention, N.E.L.A., 1919*, pp. 192-201.

¹⁸³See p. 81.

¹⁸⁴*Proceedings, 47th Convention, N.E.L.A., 1924*, pp. 55-57.

¹⁸⁵J. P. Noonan, "Labor's Part in Power Production"—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, October, 1924, p. 680.

¹⁸⁶*Electrical World*, Vol. 77, No. 3, January 15, 1921, p. 164.

to the company and make each employee feel that he was a "throb of the great heart"¹⁸⁷ The necessity of developing such a spirit was clearly demonstrated to these employers by the absence of it during the period when trade union influence was strong Hence, trade unionism probably had more to do with the recognition of the importance of the labor question through the development of plans for bringing central station employees and employers together than any other factor

Numerous instances could be cited of the efficacy of such activities in weakening union strength¹⁸⁸ Combined as they were with business conditions which were not conducive to the development of the strength of unions, they completely wiped away many of the gains the unions had made during the period of war-time prosperity¹⁸⁹

7 *Reconstruction, 1924 to the Present*—The total membership of the Brotherhood increased from less than 100,000 early in 1924 to approximately 140,000 in 1926 It has remained at about that figure since 1926¹⁹⁰ The evidence indicates that a relatively small proportion of this increase was among linemen and other central station employees Most of it can be accounted for by the steady increase in the number of union building trades electrical workers, or inside wiremen

International Secretary Bugniet described the situation as it existed in 1925 as follows

¹⁸⁷This phrase was used by certain New England companies in urging employees to purchase stock and share in other plans of a similar nature, according to a member of Local No 104, of Boston D A McSillivray—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, August, 1923, p 486

¹⁸⁸During 1924, Local No 81 lost about 100 employees of the Scranton Electric Company primarily because the superintendent of the Company organized a welfare organization *Ibid*, May, 1926, p 228

¹⁸⁹In certain parts of the country, particularly Southern California, a dual organization known as the "Workers of the Electrical Industry" contributed to the decline in membership and influence of the Brotherhood This organization consisted largely of disgruntled former members of the IBEW It was organized in November, 1921, and went out of existence early in 1925 At that time, its few remaining members voted to affiliate with the IWW T C Vickers, International Vice-President—*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1923, p 90 Also *Ibid*, 1925, p 83

¹⁹⁰See Table I, p 32

You linemen complain about the country not being better organized. We agree with you. There are cities like Washington, Minneapolis, St. Paul and others—not to mention the numerous smaller places—with no outside locals at all. There are cities like Indianapolis, New York, Milwaukee, Cincinnati and others with weak, ineffective locals having only a handful of members. And there are hundreds of line jobs stretching across the country which are totally unorganized. Why are there so few outside locals? Why are these few—with only five or six exceptions so weak?

It's mostly because the linemen have been strike-drunk. Now they are reeling from the effects of the drunk. Jobs have been struck right and left and in a few days all the strikers have left town for other parts. We have seen and you have seen outside local after local destroyed and job after job lost to all organization—all because of hurried strikes. Only a few of your strikes have we favored, because the strike as a general proposition, has proved all too costly for the linemen.

Our plea to the linemen is this. Reason out your condition. Resolve as the Detroit linemen have just resolved, to profit by the many blunders of the past. Organize and stay organized. A majority of the time and efforts of our road representatives has been devoted for a long time, and is still being devoted, to the outside men. But if the linemen are going to get anywhere, they must, once and for all, call off their wild spree of untimely self-destroying strikes.¹²¹

Further light on the situation is shed by the following answer of a union lineman of Pasadena, California, to the above editorial.

We admit the charge to a certain degree. But, Mr. Grand Officer, why not you assume some of the blame and responsibility of the unorganized condition of the outside electrical worker? You can't expect locals with a membership of 10 or more up to 200, which is a large outside local, to maintain a business agent to organize the local field. And in most cases, the individual member can't talk unionism through fear of losing his job, for most of the outside men are holding their jobs due to their ability to "cut the mustard" and keep a closed mouth, rather than through the IBEW to keep men on the job.

We have a different situation confronting us from that which the average electrical worker has when looking for work. You know there is not a half dozen public utilities to the block like contractors. And then we have the blacklist to contend with, oftentimes in the guise of a medical examination. The power trust is assuming alarming proportions reaching from coast to coast.¹²²

¹²¹G. M. Bugniet, Editorial—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, April, 1925, pp. 305-306.

¹²²W. H. Lennox, Local No. 418—*Ibid.*, May, 1925, p. 447.

The above statements sound the keynote for the entire period, as far as the activities of the Brotherhood were concerned. It was not so much concerned with the securing of agreements from power companies, granting increased wages and improved working conditions, as with organizing their employees so that it would be in a position to deal with the employers. The problem of organizing central station employees received considerable attention at the meetings of the International Executive Council of the Brotherhood.¹⁹³ Intense organizing campaigns have been carried on in various sections of the country by both local and international officers. Local No. 84, of Atlanta, reported in February, 1926, that its membership totalled 508, eighty-two of which joined the union during the month of December. Practically all of the members of the local were employees of the Georgia Railway and Power Company in Atlanta and in outlying districts served by the company.¹⁹⁴ Local No. 511 was organized in Stamford, Connecticut, in July, 1926. Within six weeks, sixty-eight employees of electric light companies in Stamford and Greenwich had become active members of the union.¹⁹⁵

As a general rule, however, organizing activities were not very successful. Since the termination of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company's agreement in 1922, less than half of its electrical workers have continued to be members of the Brotherhood, though practically all of them had previously belonged to the organization. Throughout 1927, an intensive campaign was carried on to organize these non-union men, most of whom were ex-members, with a view to forcing a closed-shop agreement from the company. In November, though organizing efforts were still being made, it was reported that the campaign had met with little success and that the Company had "reaffirmed their open shop plan . . . by putting the linemen on a monthly basis, \$170 per month."¹⁹⁶

¹⁹³Minutes of International Executive Council, March and September, 1926, and August, 1927—*Ibid*, April, 1926, p. 162, October, 1926, p. 522, November, 1927, p. 614.

¹⁹⁴R. C. Johnson—*Ibid*, February, 1926, p. 75.

¹⁹⁵W. Scott—*Ibid*, March, 1927, p. 150.

¹⁹⁶Local No. 617, San Mateo—*Ibid*, November, 1927, p. 596.

Numerous other instances could be cited, but the following resolution introduced by Local No 193, of Springfield, Illinois, at the 1927 Convention of the Brotherhood is sufficient to indicate the unorganized condition of the electric light and power workers

WHEREAS, It is necessary for all men who work at the electrical trade to get together in an organization where they can pool their interests to make better conditions and a higher average wage, and

WHEREAS, We find that the Union Electrical Workers are practically barred, in so far as being able to secure employment with the telephone trust (better known as Mother Bell), on account of having very little opposition throughout the United States, and

WHEREAS, The light and power companies are forming themselves into a great combination, practically covering the United States, using about the same method as our friend, Mother Bell, and will use the system to debar the Union Electrical Workers as soon as they secure the territory and connect it into one great trust, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention go on record and make laws whereby it can combat this system of pushing or freezing out the Union Workers, and be it further

Resolved, That this convention make a special effort to organize all possible who are working for light and power companies, before this great combination is complete, and be it further

Resolved, That this convention create a separate department which shall be known as the Organizing Department, by electing an additional Vice-President, who shall have full charge of appointing as many organizers as the funds will allow and who shall be held responsible for the results, and be it further

Resolved, That this convention amend the Constitution in a manner so that the per capita shall be \$1.25 instead of \$1.00, and that 25 cents of the monthly per capita be placed in a separate fund to be turned over to the Organizing Department to carry on the organizing work, reporting monthly through the Electrical Workers' Journal as to work done, where, and results obtained, as well as giving financial statements of receipts and expenses¹²⁰

The unorganized condition of the Brotherhood in the central station industry is largely responsible for the fact that the number of agreements entered into during this period, which has been one of prosperity for the industry, was only a trifle larger than in the preceding period, during a large part of which pros-

¹²⁰Two other resolutions of a similar nature were introduced. Although none of the three was passed, the convention instructed the officers to utilize all available resources to remedy the situation. *Proceedings, 19th Regular Convention, IBEW*, 1927, pp 36, 137, 140, 152

perity was absent. It is claimed that a decision of the Ohio Supreme Court, early in 1925, declaring that it is contrary to public policy for a public utility company to enter into any contract with a labor organization, also made it difficult for the union to secure agreements from power companies (*Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees v. Cleveland Railway Company*, No 6022, Court of Appeals, Cuyahoga County, Ohio, April 4, 1925).¹⁹⁸ According to available information, twenty-seven agreements, twenty of which were apparently signed by both parties, were entered into between June, 1924, and January, 1928. Slight wage increases and better working conditions were provided in some of them, but many did little more than ensure the continuance of existing wage rates and working conditions.¹⁹⁹ The agreement entered into between the Montana Power Company and the Brotherhood covered the entire state. It was secured through a conference between International President Noonan and officials of the Company in New York. This conference had been preceded, however, by a short strike of Local No 65 of Butte against the company and threatened strikes in other parts of the state.²⁰⁰ The other agreements were secured peaceably.

All of the five strikes recorded during this period were unsuccessful except the Montana strike. The refusal of the company

¹⁹⁸G. M. Bugmazet, International Secretary, I.B.E.W.—Communication, April 3, 1927. Also J. E. Roach, Local No 39 (Cleveland)—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, June, 1925, p. 502.

¹⁹⁹Light and power companies in Toledo, Portland, Ore., Portland, Me., Atlanta, Peoria, Youngstown, Michigan City, Ind., San Antonio, Houston, Atlantic City, Detroit, East St. Louis, St. Joseph, Mo., Shreveport, Montreal, Calgary, and Victoria were among those that entered into agreements with local unions during this period. See n. 26 above. Union scales of wages and hours of labor for linemen were reported to the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics from twenty-six cities May 15, 1927. The average hourly wage was \$991, as compared with \$993 for a slightly different group of cities May 15, 1926. The average number of hours per week was 46.1 in May, 1927. Bulletin No 457, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Dept. of Labor, pp. 2, 5, and 165.

²⁰⁰*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, September, 1926, pp. 442, 445. Also, *Report of Officers, I.B.E.W.*, 1927, p. 78.

to recognize the union was the fundamental cause of all of these strikes, though the question of wages was the nominal cause²⁰¹

The strike of Local No 125, of Portland, Oregon, against the Northwestern Electric Company merits special attention. It is the only case on record in which the boycott was used with any degree of success against an electric light and power company. In the second place, it is one of the few cases in which there is any evidence of arbitration or conciliation by a governmental agency. Finally, and most important of all, it illustrates the disastrous effect consolidation in the industry has had upon trade union influence upon wages and working conditions.

When the company sought to secure a franchise to begin operations in 1918, it signed a closed-shop agreement with Local No 125, calling for higher wages than other companies in the vicinity paid at that time. In return, the members of the local assisted in securing enough votes in favor of the franchise, when it was voted upon by the people of Portland, to overcome the opposition of the company already in the field. In 1921, the men accepted a reduction in wages, realizing that the cost of living had decreased. In the fall of 1923, the men asked that the old wage schedule be restored, on the basis that the cost of living had risen. The company not only refused this increase, but refused to consider any compromise and rejected the offer of the union to submit all matters to the Oregon State Board of Conciliation, sitting as a board of arbitration.

The strike was called October 30,²⁰² one hundred linemen, cable splicers, metermen, and other electrical workers walking out. The State Board, acting as a conciliatory body, heard both parties. It decided that the demands of the strikers were reasonable. The company refused to recognize the decision. By this

²⁰¹The companies involved were the Northwestern Electric Co at Portland, Ore., Pinellas County Power Co at St Petersburg, Fla., Montana Power Co at Butte, Pennsylvania Edison Co at Easton, and Pennsylvania and Ohio Light and Power Co at Newcastle and Sharon, Pa., and Youngstown, Ohio. See n 26 above.

²⁰²Though the strike began in 1923, it really belongs to this later period, because most of the important developments occurred during 1924-1925.

time, the wage issue had been lost sight of in the broader question of union recognition.

Strike-breakers were imported. In spite of active picketing by the strikers, the company maintained service, though some customers were without lights on various occasions. This irregularity of service, coupled with the signing of a satisfactory agreement by the Portland Railway, Light and Power Company, the rival company, on April 1, 1924, gave the union an opportunity to boycott the service of the Northwestern Electric Company.

With the assistance of International officers of the Brotherhood and the Central Labor Union of Portland, the boycott was vigorously prosecuted. Those of the strikers who were not otherwise employed worked at the office of the local, writing form and personal letters to commercial and domestic consumers of the Northwestern Electric Company urging them to change over to the other company. Owners of buildings under construction were urged to install the service of the Portland Company.²⁰³ In January, 1925, six men were still being maintained at the office of the local for the purpose of carrying on the work of the boycott. It was reported, also, at that time, that the union had made many protests to governmental authorities concerning proposed line extensions and hydro-electric developments of the Company.²⁰⁴

With the transfer of the holdings of the Company to the American Light and Power Company, however, in March, 1925, the advantage which the union seemed to have had throughout most of the strike was wiped out. The financial strength of the larger company proved to be too much of an obstacle for the already "strike-weary" men. The strike was officially called off by the union on May 8, 1925. The Company refused to hire any union men.²⁰⁵

²⁰³J. S. Milne, Local No. 125—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, July, 1924, pp. 508-509.

²⁰⁴*Ibid.*, January, 1925, p. 96.

²⁰⁵"This Local has declared off the strike and boycott against the Northwestern Electric Company. None of the strikers have secured employment with the NW. The strike was on for more than a year and a half and an active boycott was waged during a greater part of that period. The boycott was effective to a degree that a concern

Numerous other instances could be cited to illustrate the effect on union influence of the absorption of local electric light and power companies by powerful systems. The disappearance of independent local companies into unified systems has worked to the disadvantage of the union in two ways. In the first place, it has strengthened the bargaining power of the employer. Not only has it increased the financial resources of the latter, but it has also increased the supply of labor which an employer might use to break a strike in any particular locality. That is, if union linemen employed by the company in one part of its territory struck, non-union linemen employed in some nearby section of the company's territory could be brought in almost immediately to work until new men could be secured or until the strikers would give up and return to work. Secondly, the larger financial resources of the new company have enabled it to develop comprehensive company unions, mutual benefit associations, savings clubs, group insurance schemes, and other welfare plans, which have developed the loyalty of employees to the company at the expense of their loyalty to the union.

Recognition of this decline in influence of local unions owing to the organization of the industry on virtually a national scale during recent years caused President Noonan to ask the 1927 Convention of the Brotherhood for authority to negotiate with leaders in the power industry for a declaration of principles similar to that adopted by the National Electrical Contractors Association and the Brotherhood in 1919. That declaration stated, among other things, that co-operation between employer and employee should take the place of strikes and lockouts.²⁰⁶ It also led to the establishment of a Council on Industrial Relations, which has been remarkably successful in settling disputes to the satisfaction of both parties without suspension of work.²⁰⁷

of less financial resources would have been forced to yield. The recent transfer of the holdings of the Northwestern to the American Power and Light Co. made a continuance of the fight more difficult and against greater odds." J. S. Milne—*Ibid.*, June, 1925, p. 506.

²⁰⁶See Appendix, p. 187.

²⁰⁷For an authoritative description of the history, policies, rules, and personnel of this Council, see its official pamphlet entitled *The Council on Industrial Relations for the Electrical Construction Industry of the United States and Canada* (Authorized, January 6, 1926).

Referring to the beneficent effects of this declaration, President Noonan said "We believe that a similar condition can be created for the benefit of the men engaged in the power industry, and that through some central agency and understanding, a declaration of principles can be secured, that will open the way for agreements between the employing members of that Central Organization and the locals of the Brotherhood to be underwritten by both parent bodies"²⁰⁸

The Convention granted his request²⁰⁹ Although nothing definite has been accomplished toward such a declaration of principles since the close of the Convention in August, 1927, Mr Noonan has conferred with certain leaders of the industry He has recently expressed himself as feeling that some progress has been made toward the desired end²¹⁰

The significant events and general tendencies relating to the influence of the Brotherhood upon wages and working conditions in the industry can be summarized briefly In spite of the fact that the membership and influence of the organization as a whole have become practically as great as they were during the prosperous days of 1920, its influence in the central station industry has steadily declined Recovery from the industrial depression of 1920-1923 was still incomplete when it began to feel the full effect of the company union movement Many electrical

²⁰⁸*Report of Officers, I B E W*, 1927, p. 27

²⁰⁹*Proceedings, 19th Regular Convention, I B E W*, 1927, p. 146

²¹⁰"Frankly, we have made some progress towards this end. A number of men in the power industry expressed themselves as having acquired the opinion that labor unions were not anarchistic combinations of men with a hatred of all capitalists, but were business institutions in a businesslike way. There is every reason to believe that managements in the power industry realize that they cannot dictate affiliations to their people successfully, and that labor is as much a part of the industry as management. As to capital, that of course is the public, as there is very little individual ownership today in the power industry. I do not know whether or not this will be in the shape of a declaration of principles similar to that obtaining between the Brotherhood and the National Association of Electrical Contractors, but it is probable that some such understanding might be reached that will form a general basis for understandings between companies and their employees locally."

J. P. Noonan—Communication, February 15, 1928

workers forsook their union for the organizations sponsored by the companies

The increased tendency toward consolidation which has evidenced itself since 1924 extended the influence of the company union movement to isolated communities which had been untouched by it previously. Consolidation also strengthened many formerly independent companies in such a manner that they were able to rid themselves of union influence.

The traditional tendency of linemen to travel or become "journeymen" in a literal sense, although it enabled the individual to escape from working conditions which he considered to be undesirable, has always been one of the chief weaknesses of the union. Strikes were lost during this and the preceding period partly because many linemen, instead of attempting to bring the strike to a successful conclusion, simply left town soon after the strike was called. This tendency was undoubtedly a contributory cause of the decadence of union influence.

In spite of this marked decline in the influence of local unions, the period has nevertheless been one of reconstruction. Union leaders have frankly recognized their losses and have taken steps to regain their strength. No period in the history of the Brotherhood has seen more intense organizing campaigns than local and International officials have conducted in recent years and are still conducting. Of even greater significance are the negotiations which are now being carried on between the International officers and certain leaders in the industry looking toward some kind of a national understanding, which will reduce friction between employer and employee as well as strengthen the position of the Brotherhood in the industry.

SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS

The preceding pages of this chapter have described in some detail the methods used by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and its various branches in the attempt to improve wages and working conditions in the electric light and power industry and the results obtained therefrom. The methods used have varied according to circumstances. The general procedure, however, has been somewhat as follows: (a) as many as possible of the employees of a company have been organized, (b)

attempts have been made to develop the loyalty of these new members to the union, (c) a satisfactory schedule of wages and working conditions has been drawn up, (d) this schedule has been presented to the company, (e) if the company was unwilling to accept the schedule, but appeared to be willing to compromise, more or less extended negotiations were carried on with the company officials, (f) if the company refused to grant the demands, a strike might be called. By far the largest proportion of concessions granted by central station employers was granted without the cessation of work, through the conference method. It should be noted, however, that many of these concessions were indirectly the result of strikes which had resulted in favor of the union in earlier years.²¹¹ Prior to the industrial depression of 1920-1923, strikes were relatively frequent, especially during the war period. Approximately half of them were successful, in some measure. The influence of the union, as indicated by the concessions secured through its activities, peaceful and otherwise, however, can be summarized and explained only in the light of certain factors which affected this influence. These factors are as follows: (1) General Business Conditions, (2) Internal Condition of the Union and its Relations with Other Unions, (3) Character of the Lineman, (4) Developments within the Industry—Physical and Economic, and (5) Influence of Governmental Bodies.

1. *General Business Conditions.*—During periods of prosperity, particularly from 1916 to 1920, the demand for labor, in the central station as well as other industries, far exceeded its supply. Employers were generally willing to grant the demands of the union in order to keep men at work. Particularly was this true during the war period, owing to the number of men in military service and other war work. Hence, the influence of practically all trade unions was great during those years.

During times of depression, particularly 1913-1915 and 1920-1923, employers reduced working forces. Unemployment was prevalent. Trade unions were seldom able to prevent wage reductions, to say nothing of securing wage increases and improved working conditions.

²¹¹The Georgia Railway and Power Company strike is an example. See pp. 76-78 and n. 134 above.

Although business conditions have tended to affect the influence of the Brotherhood in the central station industry in the manner described above, during certain periods other factors have tended to counteract or obscure this effect

2 *Internal Condition of the IBEW and Relations with Other Unions*—Prior to 1903, the Brotherhood was little more than a loose confederation of local unions. The Grand Officers were unable to exercise much control over the activities of its members. Strikes were frequent and of an unorganized nature. Few of them were successful. The placing of the Grand President on a full-time basis in 1903, however, made possible a greater measure of centralized control over the activities of local unions. Since then, the influence of the union has been helped, rather than hindered, by its system of government.

Factional disputes within the organization have had a serious effect upon its influence with employers. Almost from its establishment in 1891, linemen and inside wiremen, the two important classes of workers in the organization, disagreed over jurisdictional matters.²¹² Open dissension broke out toward the close of 1907. Some months later, a dual organization of electrical workers was formed. It has been estimated that approximately three-fourths of the organized electrical workers in the country, at one time, belonged to this seceding organization. Though certain other factors of a minor nature were the direct, nominal causes of the secession, the traditional rivalry between linemen and wiremen was the underlying cause. Most of the seceders were of the former group. The dispute was not settled until the latter part of 1913. In many sections of the country, the attempts of the members of one faction to improve working conditions were nullified by the attempts of members of the other faction to discredit their former brothers. Members of one group often worked as strike-breakers against members of the other group. The influence of the Brotherhood upon wages and working conditions in the industry suffered not only during the controversy, but also for some years after it was settled.

With the exception of a few disruptionary outbreaks of a minor nature and jurisdictional disputes between linemen and

²¹²See p. 33

wiremen in a few localities, harmony has marked the internal condition of the Brotherhood in recent years

Though jurisdictional disputes with other labor organizations have not been entirely absent, relations with these organizations have generally been harmonious, as far as the electric light and power industry was concerned. The Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America and its branches have often worked with the I B E W in securing better conditions. Jurisdictional disputes between locals of the two organizations have seldom been serious. Co-operation has also generally featured the relations between the Electrical Workers and the Engineers' and Firemen's organizations. A rather extended jurisdictional dispute between the I B E W and the Engineers' Union, which was at its height during the war period, might have been more serious to both organizations had it not occurred at a time when economic conditions favored union labor. No attention has been given to this dispute in this chapter, because the evidence indicates that the influence of the I B E W in the electric light and power industry was not seriously affected by it.²¹³ Valuable assistance has often been rendered to the union in its struggles with central station employers by central labor organizations in various communities.

Special reference should be made to the fact that outside electrical workers, most of whom are employed in the electric light and power industry, are closely related to the building trades through the fact that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers contains a larger number of inside wiremen, most of whom are building tradesmen, than linemen and other outside electrical workers. It is difficult to come to a definite conclusion concerning the effect this relation has had upon union strength in the central station industry. Bitter disputes have sometimes occurred between linemen and wiremen, the two most numerous types of workers in the Brotherhood, both internationally and locally, with resulting evil consequences to each faction. On the other hand, the support which central station employees have received from their brother electricians and, through them, from

²¹³The engineers' organization was affected somewhat more seriously by the controversy, as the American Federation of Labor ruled against it. See pp. 19 and 20.

other building trades unions, has often been of great advantage. The Brotherhood, moreover, has been able to adopt various welfare features, because of its strength in the construction industry, which it would have been financially unable to adopt if the union had been composed only of outside electrical workers. Most of these welfare features, moreover, were aimed primarily at the latter group of workers.²¹⁴ In general, it seems reasonable to believe that the influence of union workers in the power industry has been strengthened by the fact that they belong to an organization which has achieved a position of great influence largely because of its strength in the construction industry.

3 *Character of the Lineman*—A factor closely related to the internal condition of the union has been the character of the lineman, the most numerous type of electrical worker in the central station industry. Since the early days of the industry, many linemen have been of the care-free, transient type which seldom works longer than six months in one community.

The traveling nature of the lineman, coupled with the rigorous, hazardous nature of his work, has tended to develop a rather independent, irresponsible, reckless type of individual whom both employers and union officials have found difficult to control. Many linemen have been prone to strike on the slightest provocation, regardless of existing agreements. Moreover, instead of remaining in the vicinity to assist in bringing such hastily-called strikes to a successful conclusion, they have often left town within a few days and moved on to some other part of the country, where, if necessary in order to secure jobs, they may work for a time under non-union conditions. Not all linemen have been of this transient type, nevertheless, there have been enough of this type to harass local unions seriously in various parts of the country in their efforts to improve conditions in the industry.

4 *Developments within the Industry—Physical and Economic*—Physical and economic developments within the electric light and power industry have been so closely related that it is difficult to differentiate sharply between them. The attempt is made here because physical developments have seemed to work

²¹⁴Chapter III describes these welfare features in considerable detail.

to the advantage of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers while economic developments have worked to the disadvantage of that organization, in so far as its relations with the electric light and power industry are concerned.

The term "physical development" is here used to refer chiefly to the remarkable growth of the industry as indicated by the steady increase in the number of miles of transmission and distribution lines. This development has naturally increased the demand for linemen to build and maintain these lines and for other electrical workers to see that the electric current sent over these lines renders satisfactory service. Except during times of financial stringency, particularly 1908, 1913-1915, and 1920-1923, and during the war period, when rate increases were often insufficient to meet the high costs of fuel, copper and other supplies, and labor, and the industry was financially unable to expand as it should have done, the industry has extended its lines at a remarkable rate. The demand for electrical workers has increased in proportion. Even during the war period, when many companies were financially unable to expand, the demand for electrical workers exceeded the supply. Under such conditions, union influence over wages and working conditions in the industry would normally increase.

The facts show that this did occur between 1903 and 1907. To what extent this influence might have become stronger, had it not been almost entirely destroyed by the secession movement within the union, can only be surmised. Though the physical development of the industry by no means ceased between 1913 and 1923, its effect upon the power of the union was somewhat obscured by the 1913-1915 depression, the abnormal condition of the labor market between 1916 and 1920, and the 1920-1923 depression. Since the recovery in 1923 from the post-war depression, the industry has extended its lines to an extent scarcely dreamed of in earlier years. It would be expected that the increased demand for linemen and other electrical workers which such a program of expansion entails would tend to increase the power of the union. The facts show that the influence of the union in the industry has declined. The explanation of this must be sought in the economic development of the industry.

The term "economic development" is here used to refer chiefly to the absorption of independent electric light and power companies into great consolidated systems. Collective bargaining has been carried on in the industry chiefly through local unions of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and local officials of the electric light and power companies. The bargaining strength of these local unions was often equal and sometimes superior to the bargaining strength of independent electric light and power companies. As these companies became units of centrally-controlled systems with great financial resources, their bargaining strength increased relative to that of local unions. The members of the I B E W recognized this fact at an early date and attempted to strengthen the bargaining power of local unions through setting up district bargaining agencies to negotiate with the larger electric light and power companies. These agencies were effective in some parts of the country, particularly on the Pacific Coast, where systems had replaced independent companies at an early date. The transfer of authority from local and International officers to district officers, and the use which some of the latter made of this authority, however, aroused the hostility of many members of the Brotherhood. Although local unions may form such district bargaining agencies, if they so desire, they have not been officially recognized by the Brotherhood since 1909.²¹⁵ The few attempts which have been made to form district and state bargaining agencies by local unions have been relatively unsuccessful. In some instances, International officers have served as the representatives of a number of local unions and negotiated with the officials of companies employing members of those organizations. In general, however, local unions have continued to bargain with the local managers of central station companies, regardless of whether they were independent companies or units of consolidated systems.

The continued fusion of these small companies into systems of companies and the fusion of these systems into larger systems has resulted in the organization of the industry into a small number of systems operating on a national scale. Except in certain cities where local conditions have strengthened the bargaining

²¹⁵M. C. Mulcaire—*The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers*, pp. 80-83.

power of the local unions in some manner, the influence of the union has declined as consolidation in the industry has increased.

Consolidation has affected union influence in the industry in both a direct and an indirect manner. The direct effect has been the decline in the bargaining power of the local union relative to that of the formerly independent companies. Indirectly, it has facilitated the development of the company union movement and other movements calculated to build up the loyalty of employees to the companies. Only those companies with great financial resources have been able to establish industrial relations departments and the numerous employee services such as stock ownership, pensions, insurance, education, etc., which have almost always been closely associated with employee representation or company union plans. As small, independent companies have become parts of large, centrally-controlled systems, the company union movement has spread to these companies. Some of the members or prospective members of the local unions employed by companies having a strongly developed company union have been attracted to these company organizations and voluntarily dropped their trade union membership. A larger proportion have left their trade union and joined the company union because they were compelled to do so in order to hold their jobs.

This decline in the influence of local unions has prompted the Brotherhood to two types of action. The first is more or less a continuance of an established method of increasing union influence. That is, local unions and International officers have embarked on intensive organizing campaigns. The second type of action is of a distinctly different nature than any action taken by the union in past years. The International officers have been empowered to carry on negotiations with leaders in the industry, looking toward a national understanding. The desired understanding would amount on the one hand to a recognition of the union. On the other, it would amount to a recognition by the union that co-operation should take the place of strikes. Nothing of a definite nature has been accomplished toward securing such an understanding.

5 *Influence of Governmental Bodies*—The influence of federal, state, and local governmental bodies upon the power of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in the elec-

tric light and power industry has been exerted in three ways (1) conciliation and arbitration, (2) fixing electric rates by public service commissions, (3) public ownership. It is evident that the influence exerted through rate-fixing and public ownership is only of an indirect nature.

The Kansas Court of Industrial Relations is the only governmental body which has exercised compulsory arbitration in disputes between central station employers and employees. It did this in only one case. Local unions in Colorado and Canada have encountered compulsory investigation of the causes of disputes before strikes were permitted. In general, however, the influence of the union has been affected only in a very slight degree by either compulsory arbitration or compulsory investigation. Voluntary arbitration has been somewhat more common in the industry. During the war period, a number of disputes were submitted to the National War Labor Board. Representatives of State Industrial Commissions in a number of states, Oregon particularly, have sometimes arbitrated disputes over wages and working conditions at the request of unions and companies. In a few instances, city officials and judges have acted as arbitrators, when requested to do so by the contending parties. Conciliatory activities have been much more numerous than instances of arbitration. Between 1916 and 1920, representatives of the United States Department of Labor were very active in attempting to prevent strikes and in assisting in the settlement of strikes. A number of cases are on record in which they used their good offices to settle disputes in the electric light and power industry. Various state industrial commissions have occasionally served as boards of conciliation with some degree of success. Municipal officials, in a few instances, have attempted to conciliate disputes between central station employers and employees. The writer has encountered no case in which a state public service commission has attempted to act as a board of conciliation or arbitration. During the war, such arbitration and conciliation activities as were carried on by various governmental bodies tended to strengthen the influence of the union upon wages and working conditions. In recent years, however, instances of arbitration and conciliation have been so small in number that governmental agencies cannot be said to have had any notice-

able effect upon the power of the union in the central station industry

The tardiness of public service commissions in granting rate increases during periods of rising prices sometimes made it impossible for companies to grant the demands of the union for higher wages. In this sense, rate-fixing bodies have tended to lessen trade union influence upon wages and working conditions. On the other hand, some companies during these same periods have obtained rate increases because of increased labor costs. In this sense, the commissions have tended to make it easier for trade unions to secure higher wages in the industry. This question of the relation between electric rates and the efforts of trade unions to increase wages will be treated at greater length later in this study.

The influence of municipal ownership upon the power of the union over wages and working conditions cannot be discussed without some consideration of the entire problem of municipal ownership, the relations between local unions and municipally owned electric light and power plants, and the attitude of the Brotherhood toward the question. Consideration of this question forms an important part of Chapter IV of this study.

A sixth factor which has affected the influence of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers over wages and working conditions should be mentioned. The attempts of the Brotherhood to lessen the hazards of death, accidents, and sickness, of unemployment, and of superannuation, and to provide other services for its members, though nominally welfare measures, actually have become important means of building up the economic strength of the union. So many factors are involved in these attempts of the Brotherhood, however, that Chapter III will be devoted to a study of them.

Bearing these factors in mind, the history of the influence of the I B E W upon wages and working conditions in the electric light and power industry can be summarized as follows: prior to 1903, the weak, decentralized nature of the Brotherhood prevented it from exercising any great influence, between 1903 and 1908, the influence of the union increased markedly, owing to the development of the industry and the centralization of

control over union activities, the secession of a large number of members of the union between 1908 and 1913 seriously weakened its influence on wages and working conditions in the central station as well as other industries, the industrial depression of 1913-1915 and increased anti-union activities, both of a direct and indirect nature, retarded the Brotherhood's recovery from the secession until the spring of 1916, war-influences during 1916-1920 caused the Brotherhood's strength to increase to a phenomenal degree, between 1920 and 1924, most of the gains of the previous period were wiped away, because of the depression of 1920-1923 and the growth of the company union movement, since 1924, the influence of the union upon wages and working conditions has declined steadily, owing to increased consolidation within the industry and the wide-spread extension of company unions and all that they represent which consolidation has made possible. This latter period has been one of reconstruction, however, as far as the Brotherhood is concerned, as it has frankly recognized its weakness in the industry and has taken steps to regain its strength. Time alone will tell how successful it will be.

CHAPTER III

WELFARE ACTIVITIES

Trade union activities directed toward lessening the hazards of death, accidents and sickness, unemployment, and superannuation have been of two types (1) those of a preventive nature, and (2) those directed toward making less severe the effects of these calamities upon members and their families, usually through various types of insurance and benefits. Closely related to these industrial betterments have been the educational, recreational, and thrift facilities provided by unions.

Activities directed toward these ends have generally been secondary to, but, throughout trade union history, almost as important as, the activities described in the preceding chapter. Such activities, in fact, have long been recognized as indirect, auxiliary means of obtaining higher wages, better hours, etc., in that they tend to develop the morale and loyalty of the members of the union. It is probable that the loyalty-building qualities of union welfare activities induced employers to adopt similar plans to develop the loyalty of their employees. The success of such plans in the hands of employers, in turn, particularly in recent years, has reacted on the unions to the extent that many of them have gone into such welfare activities on a scale never attempted before.

This has been particularly true of central station employers and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. In few industries have welfare and company-union plans been developed as extensively as in the electric light and power industry. In the attempt to meet the competition of the company-union for the loyalty of electrical workers, the Brotherhood has expanded its welfare activities remarkably in recent years.

It is the purpose of this Chapter to study the welfare activities of the Brotherhood. More specifically, it deals with the problems of safety, unemployment, superannuation, education, recreation, and thrift, in so far as they have been considered by the union.

THE PROBLEM OF SAFETY

The problem of safety is of peculiar importance to the members of the IBEW employed by the electric light and power

companies. Most of them are linemen. The hazardous nature of the lineman's occupation has long been recognized. The mortality experience of the Prudential Insurance Company of America for the period 1897-1906 indicated the dangers inherent in electrical work during that period. While 95 or 14.7 per cent of the 645 deaths of electricians were due to accidents, 118 or 46.7 per cent of 240 deaths of electric linemen were of an accidental nature.¹ Although much has been done in the way of accident prevention by employers, employees, and governmental agencies, the steady increase in the voltage of electric lines has tended to counteract, to some extent, at least a part of this safety work.² An official of the Houston Light and Power Company, in 1921, made the statement that, in twenty-five years of contact with linemen, he had known only one who had died a natural death.³ One cannot read the letters of local unions of electrical workers without being impressed with the fact that linemen work under a tremendous strain because of the ever-present possibility of sudden death. The situation described in the following letter is by no means unique.

This time, Brothers, we lost Bro. P. Billingslea. He was electrocuted. He was the third one to leave us to mourn since the first of the year. The "hot-stick" boys are getting shaky, for all three lads were high-tension men and worked directly and indirectly for the transmission department of the Kansas Gas and Electric Company. With all the safety-first education we are getting, apparently it is not enough. Anyway, we lost one of our boys, said he had plenty and left for his home state. Bro. George Morton was a good "hot-stick" man. He was with Whitey Lamb when he got killed off and has not felt right since. He thought he had all he wanted of it.⁴

¹*Electrical Worker*, December, 1908, p. 729.

²Report of Sub-Committee of Accident Prevention, *Proceedings, 46th Convention, N.E.L.A.*, Vol. I, 1923, p. 82. Out of 201 fatal accidents selected at random by this same committee, a year later, from central station companies in all parts of the United States and Canada, 126 or 62.6 per cent happened to linemen and 42 or 20.9 per cent affected other electrical workers. *Proceedings, 47th Convention, N.E.L.A.*, 1924, p. 667.

³S. R. Berton—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, June, 1921, p. 718. Mr. Berton made this remark before the City Council while discussing franchise matters.

⁴S. Yorke, Local No. 271, Wichita, Kansas—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, May, 1927, p. 258.

Accidents resulting in serious disability present almost as important a problem as accidental deaths, especially when they injure the worker in such a way that he is permanently prevented from ever again working at his trade or any other.⁵

The hazardous nature of the occupation has been responsible for various types of union activity. It has sometimes been used as a basis for attempts to secure higher wages. Increases in the number of accidents to linemen in a particular locality have often been followed by union demands for an increase in wages.⁶ Unions have also secured extra compensation for their members employed on particularly dangerous work.⁷ A second type of union activity for which the dangerous nature of the work has been responsible has been that directed toward accident prevention. In the third place, various insurance and benefit plans have been provided to lighten the burden imposed upon the worker or his family by death, accidents, and sickness. These last two types of activity merit detailed study.

1 *Accident Prevention*—Accident prevention has always been a topic of interest to members of the union. Safe working practices, the need for safe equipment, and methods of resuscitating workers who have been overcome by electric shock have been frequently discussed at meetings of local unions. As early as April, 1897, the members of Local No. 61, of Los Angeles, were admonished to "attend the next meeting fully prepared with ideas and suggestions on the best methods to adopt in case an unfortunate lineman is suddenly caught by a live wire."⁸ Committees have been appointed not only to educate the members of the local in safe working practices but also to determine whether

⁵It is improbable that the man described in the following accident ever worked again as a lineman. "Johnny Shears fell from a pole last week 35 ft high and suffered the loss of two legs, an arm and 6 teeth. He also had some fractured ribs and his collar-bone was broken in two places. Outside of the above-mentioned injuries, he is in good shape." V Taylor, Local No. 80, Norfolk, Virginia—*Ibid.*, June, 1919, p. 568.

⁶Employees of the Flatbush Light Company received a wage increase under these circumstances in 1907. See p. 52.

⁷An agreement between the Houston Light and Power Company and Local No. 66 in 1919 called for double time while working on poles over fifty-five feet high. See p. 73.

⁸C. P. Lofthouse—*Electrical Worker*, April, 1897, p. 11.

accidents in the vicinity had been due to the carelessness or ignorance of the worker or to unsafe company equipment⁹

Safety provisions have sometimes been included in trade agreements between local unions and power companies. An agreement entered into in 1919 by the Toledo Railway and Light Company and Local No 245, for instance, provided that no lineman should work on wires carrying more than 550 volts unless another lineman was on the pole with him¹⁰

At first thought, it would seem unnecessary for the Brotherhood and its local unions to interest itself in the problem of safety, in as much as central station companies have been leaders in the field of accident prevention. Long before these companies gave any attention to labor problems in general, accident prevention was considered to be an important problem¹¹. The first-aid teams and "Safety-First" campaigns of electric light and power companies throughout the country are too well-known to require further comment. Union employees, as well as other employees, have been glad to co-operate in these safety activities of the companies¹²

On the other hand, some employers have been backward about taking steps to prevent accidents¹³. There are certain types of

⁹Local No 457, of Altoona, Pennsylvania, had such an investigational committee appointed in 1919. F. S. Clark—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, July, 1919, p. 643

¹⁰F. Ames—*Ibid*, August, 1919, p. 29

¹¹Considerable attention was given to accident prevention as early as 1890. See *Proceedings, 12th Convention, N. E. L. A.*, 1890, pp. 78-97

¹²Local No 51 reported that twenty-five of its members had enrolled in the first-aid class which the Central Illinois Light Co. organized for its employees early in 1925 and were enthusiastic about it. L. M. Holly—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, March, 1925, p. 250

¹³A speaker at the 1913 Convention of the N. E. L. A. said "It appears almost incredible but it is nevertheless true that some employers have been more concerned over protecting property from damage than persons from injury. This seems particularly odd in view of the fact that employees constitute the employer's most valuable asset and accident prevention saves misery and money. Until within the last few years, this two-fold saving has not been appreciated, and in striving to increase output and sales, the avoidance of accidents, as one of the factors reducing cost of production has been overlooked." J. B. Douglas, "Accident Prevention in Public Utilities"—*Proceedings, 35th Convention, N. E. L. A.*, 1913, Vol. I, p. 346

safety provisions, moreover, which even the most progressive employers have hesitated to adopt and, sometimes, strongly opposed. These provisions are of two types (1) those that are likely to involve the company in serious disputes with customers and thus affect public relations adversely, and (2) those that involve a large financial outlay

The vine-covered poles which are common in various parts of the country, particularly Washington and Oregon, are an excellent example of the type of hazard which fear of adverse public relations has made companies hesitant of removing. A recent issue of the official journal of the Brotherhood contained pictures of such poles, bearing the caption "Stop This Menace" and accompanied by the following appeal

The inserted photographs show one of many hazards. There are a number of like poles in the state of Oregon and the Northwest supporting high tension lines. The customers take pains in building up these man-traps to beautify their properties. There have been appeals made to companies to have the vines removed with no results as yet due to the fact that the companies argue that their competitors will tolerate the customers decorating the poles regardless of the hazards that the employees are subject to and in the past have forbidden linemen to clear the poles in order that they may get up and down. In one instance, we have appealed to the proper state authorities to have these man-traps removed. In their reply they state that they are surprised that the employees do not take it upon themselves to clear the poles as they come to them, disregarding the attitude of the employer which would mean that the individual who would dare to remove the vines in order to protect himself would be immediately discharged. Therefore, it would behoove us to secure legislative action, if possible, to eliminate these man-traps. Hence, on behalf of the locals in the Northwest, I am asking the locals in the different states where there is a law that applies to a condition of this sort to please send copy of same to Box 375, Seattle."

There are two types of safety provisions which have been objected to because of the expense they entailed. The first type, such as that which provides that no lineman shall work on high-voltage wires unless another workman is on the pole with him, is objected to on the ground that they increase operating expenses to an unwarranted degree. Even some companies which have virtually complete safety programs, otherwise, object to

"T. E. Lee—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, November, 1927, p. 583.

this provision ¹⁵ Safety rules which have met with most strenuous objections from many central station companies have been those which called for increasing the space between transmission and distribution wires and the poles in order to lessen the danger of the lineman's coming into contact with wires while at work. These "clearance rules" are objected to on the ground that they necessitate the extensive rebuilding of existing systems and a more expensive type of new construction. It should be noted that these objections do not necessarily prove that the companies are mercenary and inhuman. The unions are not actuated entirely by noble, humanitarian motives in urging the adoption of these safety rules. It is doubtful if unionists would have agitated so vigorously for the establishment of these operating and construction conditions if they had not realized that the passage of rules providing for these conditions would cause the companies to demand more linemen. In other words, "two-men-to-a-pole" and "wire clearance" rules are, in a sense, "make-work" as well as safety rules ¹⁶

Local unions of the Brotherhood have been active in their attempts to improve overhead construction and operating conditions. Most of them have been of a political nature, that is, union efforts have been directed very largely toward securing the passage of municipal ordinances and state laws and the issuance of orders by public service commissions which embody the desired conditions. Wire clearance rules have been the most common type of legislation sought.

Local unions have agitated for municipal ordinances governing overhead line construction since the infancy of the I B E W.

¹⁵This is illustrated by the following statement: "The Kansas Gas and Electric Co., of whom I am trying to be a very efficient employee, is not only willing but if necessary will make their men follow the best known safety practices with the possible exception of having two men on a pole at all times while working hot stuff." T. H. Laisure, Local No. 271, Wichita—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, August, 1926, p. 392.

¹⁶The following statement by a member of Local No. 66, Houston, which led the fight for legislation in Texas in 1917, is typical of the attitude of union electrical workers toward clearance laws: "A state law regulating wire clearance means, in our minds, more work, safer construction, better conditions, and several other good things." *Ibid.*, April, 1917, p. 561.

Local No 17, of Detroit, for instance, in 1897 "in view of the death of Thomas Culhane, an employee of the Mutual Electric Co, presented a petition to the Common Council asking for an ordinance prohibiting the placing of grounded protection pipes nearer than 15 ft to the lowest cross-arm, also, the stringing of bare grounded wires on same poles with wires carrying high potential currents and several other practices as dangerous to human life"¹⁷

That employers were interested in union attempts to secure such ordinances is indicated by the following statement in the *Electrical World* in 1909

A petition signed by a large number of electrical workers in the city of South Bend, Indiana, has been filed with the council of that city asking for the betterment of electric construction and for better protection for the linemen The petition asks that all high-tension wires be placed on yellow cross-arms, primary and arc light wires on black cross-arms, and low voltage wires on red cross-arms Where high and low voltage wires are on the same poles, the petition asks that a clearance of six feet be made The petitioners ask for due consideration of their requests to the end that their labors may be made less hazardous"

Attempts to secure local ordinances have been superseded, to a considerable extent, by agitation for state laws and commission orders governing line construction and operation California was the scene of the earliest attempts to secure protective legislation on a state scale Several bills concerning overhead line construction were introduced by the Pacific District Council of Electrical Workers at the 1905 session of the State Legislature¹⁸ It was not until 1911, however, that a comprehensive law was enacted Among other things, it provided for a fifteen-inch clearance between pole and wires, two feet between arms bearing primary wires and four feet between primary and secondary arms, and the covering of all grounded wires with wood moulding Very few changes have been made in it since its enactment It has served as the basis for most of the

¹⁷*Electrical Worker*, October, 1897, p 12

¹⁸*Electrical World*, Vol 54, No 8, August 19, 1909, p 412

¹⁹Report of J L Cook, Secretary-Treasurer, Pacific Council—*Electrical Worker*, March, 1905, p 42

bills of a similar nature which unions have sponsored in other parts of the country²⁰

Bills have been introduced in the legislatures of many states by state organizations of local unions of electrical workers. Comprehensive overhead line construction laws have been enacted in only Washington and Oregon and in the province of Alberta, Canada²¹

Orders of public service commissions have supplemented state laws and have, themselves, set standards in many states where there are no such laws. The union has had some influence upon the commissions in setting these safety standards. In 1915, the Idaho Public Utilities Commission issued a comprehensive order concerning line construction, which was based upon specifications jointly endorsed by the power, telephone, telegraph, railroad, and labor representatives. Referring to this order, a delegate to the 1915 Convention of the National Electric Light Association described it as "the first State regulation adopted under these circumstances." He went on to say that "in the state of Pennsylvania, a joint committee is engaged in preparing a specification which may serve as the basis for a similar state order. These two specifications, being based upon co-operation of all interests,

²⁰Act 1350—"An Act Regulating the Placing, Erection, Use and Maintenance of electric poles, wires, cables, and appliances"—*Statutes of California, 39th Session*, pp 1037-41. It became a law April 22, 1911. It was amended slightly June 5, 1915. See *Henning's General Laws of California, 1920* (Hyatt's Edition), p 682. Vice-President T. C. Vickers of the Brotherhood reported, in 1927, that "during the past two years, more than thirty-five copies of the California laws have been mailed out from this office on request to Local Union committees in the various States who are trying to have new laws or amendments enacted that will, to a greater degree, protect the men who are working at the outside branch of the trade." *Report of Officers, IBEW, 1927*, p 84.

²¹Local No 348 of Calgary, Alberta, before drawing up the bill which became a law in September, 1920, conducted an investigation of all laws governing line work in the United States and Canada. At that time, only the above-mentioned states had such laws. *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, October, 1920, p 103. As far as can be ascertained, no other laws satisfactory to the union have been passed since 1920.

will be of considerable importance as precedents for use under similar conditions in other states "²²

Since the Idaho order was issued, representatives of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers have been members of committees which have been appointed by various public service commissions to draw up specifications for overhead line construction and operation.²³ That the activities of the Brotherhood have sometimes been directly in opposition to central station companies is indicated by the following excerpt from Vice-President Vickers' 1923 Report

the latter part of January, 1922, I represented the Brotherhood at a hearing of the California Railroad Commission, at which the matter before the Commission was the request of all the power and telephone companies in the State of California for an extension of five years time in the matter of complying with the State law in regard to clearances in high tension construction. This State law was passed in 1911 and the companies had secured several extensions of time since that date. In behalf of the Brotherhood and the Local Unions in California, I objected to any further time being granted and pointed out to the Railroad Commission that many extreme hazards existed in the high tension construction throughout the State which had been responsible for the death of many of our members, and urgently requested the Commission to appoint inspectors to inspect the various power company's lines and that orders be issued immediately to clear up the hazards existing at the present time. The Commission took the matter under advisement with the result that in a comparatively short time three inspectors were put to work inspecting power company's lines and a general order was

²²*Proceedings, 38th Convention, N.E.L.A., Vol II, 1916, p. 631.* A report from Local No. 291, of Boise, corroborated this statement, but contained additional information, as follows: "This hearing was brought up by the Telephone and Power Companies and it appeared for a while as though we were not going to get a hearing, and we have no thanks to offer to certain ones of the Power people that we were finally heard. But we secured the hearing and obtained results that were worth while. We secured, among other things, a clear climbing space, to be at least 20 inches between any primaries on the pole." Roy Carson—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, April, 1915, p. 253.

²³A member of the Illinois State Conference of Electrical Workers, a legislative association of local unions, served on the committee which drew up specifications upon which General Order No. 115, Illinois Commerce Commission, providing, among other things, for increased spacing between overhead wires, was based. It went into effect August 1, 1927. E. L. Smith, Local No. 145, Rock Island—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, September, 1926, p. 445, September, 1927, p. 477.

issued that all hazards reported by the inspectors must be cleared up without delay. As a result of this order, it is safe to say that at least 350 linemen have been working steady for the past year on reconstruction work, and it is estimated that it will take fully six months more to clear up the work.²⁴

This same official has represented the Brotherhood, at the request of the Commission, on the "Joint Pole Committee" of the California Railroad Commission, which has been working for several years on safety and other problems presented by the joint occupancy of poles by power and telephone companies.²⁵

No discussion of accident prevention in the electric light and power industry can be complete without mention of the National Electrical Safety Code. At the request of both employers and workers in the electrical industries, who were united in their dissatisfaction over the lack of uniformity in overhead construction practices and in municipal and state rules governing this construction, the Code was drawn up under the direction of the U. S. Bureau of Standards. It was issued November 15, 1916, for examination, trial, and constructive criticism. It was revised in 1920 and again in 1926. Representatives of the power companies, telephone companies, electrical manufacturers, and other employing interests, and Mr. J. P. Noonan, now President of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, assisted in drawing up the original Code and in both revisions.²⁶

The Code was favorably received by governmental agencies, as well as by central station employers²⁷ and unionists. It has served as the basis for most of the state and municipal rules concerning overhead line operation and construction that have since been issued by governmental bodies.²⁸

²⁴*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1923, p. 78.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 1927, p. 83.

²⁶*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, August, 1916, p. 7, October, 1917, p. 99, March, 1925, p. 225, April, 1926, p. 152.

²⁷Some members of the NEA urged modification of the clearance rules when the Code was discussed by the association. *Proceedings, 45th Convention, 1922*, Vol. I, pp. 566-573.

²⁸Within a year after its issuance in 1916, it was reported that twenty-seven public service commissions and many municipalities had adopted or recommended the Code in whole or in part. *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, October, 1917, p. 99.

In general, rules concerning safe practices in the construction and operation of overhead lines have represented a compromise between the extreme demands of unionists, who have sometimes used the necessity of safety as a cloak for providing additional work for linemen, and the extreme conservatism of those employers who are inclined to be neglectful of the value of human life. The larger electric companies, as a rule, have been quicker than the small ones to realize the economic value of accident prevention measures.²⁹ Hence, as small companies have been absorbed into large systems, much of the opposition to safety measures involving great financial outlay has disappeared and safety programs of public utility companies have expanded.

It seems reasonable to conclude, however, that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has been directly responsible for some of the safety measures which have been adopted in the industry and indirectly responsible for many of them. Almost as important as the municipal and state rules which have been adopted have been the many unsuccessful attempts of the Brotherhood and its local unions to secure such rules, as they have undoubtedly influenced the companies to institute and expand safety programs.

Safety provisions in trade agreements have never been a very important medium for lessening the hazards of the occupation. The decline in the number of trade agreements between central station companies and local unions since 1920, which was noted in Chapter II, has, of course, made the importance of these provisions even less. As state public service commissions have increased in number and power, the importance of municipal ordinances and state laws relating to safety has declined. It is through these state commissions that the Brotherhood has exercised its greatest influence upon safe working conditions in the central station industry. Its influence upon safety

²⁹"Faulty construction, you generally find, is done where it is permitted, by smaller companies. The big distributing companies, realizing the importance of high grade construction, have adopted standards generally that make possible permanency of construction, as well as protection of life and property, saving thereby in rehabilitation costs, and in the lessening of law-suits for damage. Smaller companies, however, have worked with the sole view in mind of getting electrical energy to as many customers as possible." Editorial, *Ibid.*, April, 1918, p. 442.

has probably been much greater than its influence upon wages, hours, and other working conditions, particularly in recent years, not only because company opposition has been less keen concerning safety measures, but also because commission orders respecting safety affect many companies which employ no members of the union

2 *Death and Disability Benefits*—The hazardous nature of electrical work, particularly of line work, has made the problem of benefits peculiarly important to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Death benefits have been provided by the national organization since its establishment in 1891. Additional death benefits have been paid by local unions, in some instances. Disability benefits, on the other hand, have never been provided by the Brotherhood, although the majority of local unions have paid some sort of benefits to those members who have been temporarily or permanently disabled through accidents or sickness. The history of the use of each type of benefit merits attention ⁸⁰

a *Death Benefits*—The first convention of the Brotherhood authorized the payment of fifty dollars to the heirs of a deceased member and twenty-five dollars to a member on the death of his wife. These benefits were simply designed to pay as much as possible of the funeral expenses. The founders of the organization provided these benefits chiefly because the practice of making such payments was generally accepted as a recognized trade union policy ⁸¹

The hazardous nature of the industry apparently had little to do with the establishment of this "funeral benefit" or with the

⁸⁰It is unnecessary here to go into a detailed study of the history of death and disability benefits provided by the Brotherhood. That has already been done in a thorough fashion. See M. A. Mulcaire, *The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers*, pp. 101-123. It is the purpose of the writer to review these facts as briefly as possible, in so far as they relate to the problems of safety, unemployment, and superannuation. It will be necessary to give somewhat more detailed study, however, to developments since Mr. Mulcaire completed his study in 1923.

⁸¹J. B. Kennedy, *Beneficiary Features of American Trade Unions*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 1908, p. 12.

increasing of it to \$100 a year later. Shortage of funds and the objection of the unmarried members caused the abolishment of the funeral benefit for wives of members in 1895.

The increase in the number of fatal accidents, largely because of increased voltages of electric wires, and the loss of many members during the hard times of 1894 and 1895 resulted in the formation of sentiment in favor of a death benefit large enough to do more than merely pay funeral expenses. It was thought that some form of life insurance would not only protect the family of a man after his death but would also serve to keep him loyal to the union in times of industrial depression and in times of dispute with employers.⁸² It was not until 1909, however, that the amount of the death benefit was raised. At that time, it was provided that \$300 should be paid to the heirs of a deceased member, in case he had belonged to the Brotherhood for five years. Smaller benefits were provided for those who had been members, in good standing, for shorter periods of time.

During the next few years, a number of employers organized benefit associations for their employees in the attempt to win their loyalty.⁸³ Many members and prospective members of the Brotherhood were attracted by the benefits thus offered. Moreover, electrical workers, particularly linemen, were finding it increasingly difficult to obtain insurance from commercial com-

⁸²"Suppose we had an insurance and John Doe had a \$3,000 policy and we should get into trouble through a strike or lockout. John would go home and say to his wife, I am going to work in the morning. Of course, his wife would want to know where and he would say for so and so. She would say, why, John, I thought there was a strike on there. John would say there is. The next thing would be the question. John, if you go and work unfair, won't you be suspended and expelled. Of course, John had to acknowledge that he will. Well, if you are expelled from the brotherhood, won't you lose your insurance? What will become of the family if you should meet with an accident? Old John scratches his head, swears under his breath, and leaves the house to walk and think. He eventually turns up at home and tells his wife he has changed his mind, and another man is saved to the Brotherhood." J. A. Groves, District Council No. 7—*Electrical Worker*, August, 1906, p. 26.

⁸³Report of Public Policy Committee, *Proceedings, 35th Convention, N.E.L.A.*, 1915, Vol. I, p. 283.

panies and fraternal organizations⁸⁴ Union officials, consequently, gave much time and thought to ways and means of increasing the amount of the death benefits to members

Various factors hindered their attempts to increase the amount of these benefits. Certain members of the Brotherhood have always opposed any expansion of its activities which would entail higher dues. Another obstacle was found in the provisions of certain state insurance laws, which set a maximum limit of \$300 upon the amount of death benefits which could be paid by associations which were not legally incorporated as insurance companies.

In 1921, however, an Insurance Department was authorized by the membership. In order to conform with state insurance laws, it was incorporated as the "Electrical Workers' Benefit Association." All members of the Brotherhood became automatically members of the new association. The local unions of the Brotherhood were made local lodges of the Benefit Association. The officers of the I B E W became the officers of the Association. These officers were to serve at a nominal salary of \$1.00 per year. The office of the Brotherhood was to be the office of the Insurance Department. The only additional expense entailed by the establishment of the Benefit Association was the salary of an actuary and the salary of a legal counsel. Hence, insurance could be provided at a fairly low rate. Each member was obliged to pay a constant yearly premium of \$10.80, thus increasing the monthly per capita dues 90c. Insurance was to be paid as follows: after a year's continuous standing, \$300, two years, \$475, three years, \$650, four years, \$825, and five years, \$1,000.

Although the adoption of this plan met with considerable opposition at first, owing to the increase of 90c per month in the dues of each member, the prompt payment of benefits during the first year of its existence effectively silenced most of this opposition.

So successful did this insurance plan prove to be that the 1923 Convention of the Brotherhood authorized a canvass of the members to determine their attitude toward expanding the

⁸⁴*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, May, 1915, p. 33. The *Accident Insurance Manual* of the Spectator Company, published in 1918, classed linemen as "extra perilous" and "not insurable."

insurance activities through setting up a legal reserve life insurance company. The sentiment was overwhelmingly in favor of such an expansion. Accordingly, the "Union Cooperative Insurance Association, Inc." was chartered November 10, 1924, in Washington, D. C. The full amount of capital and surplus, \$200,000, was subscribed to and paid in on the first day by 346 members of the Brotherhood, living in forty-two states. Mr. C. W. Nesbit, the originator and first Commissioner of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the U. S. Treasury Department, was installed as manager. Other officers, except the medical and legal advisors, are all International officers of the Brotherhood. It has, however, no legal connection with the union. At present, some of its stockholders do not even belong to any labor organization.³⁵

At the end of three years, \$22,000,000 of life insurance was in force. Policy-holders were from all walks of life, although most of them were members of the I. B. E. W. and other trade unions. All standard types of life insurance have been written. A number of group policies have been written for local unions of electrical workers and other trades.³⁶ The success which the plan met during the first year of its existence prompted leaders in certain other trade unions to unite in forming an insurance company of a similar nature early in 1926. This new company is known as the "Union Labor Life Insurance Company."³⁷

The Union Cooperative Insurance Association, Inc., did not supersede the Electrical Workers' Benefit Association. All members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers are compelled to pay a yearly premium of \$10.80 to the Benefit Association in return for insurance ranging from \$300 to \$1,000 according to length of membership. The more recently organized Insurance Association merely gives members of the Brotherhood as well as the general public an opportunity to purchase life in-

³⁵*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, December, 1924, pp. 5-7. Also, G. M. Bugmazet, Secretary, I. B. E. W.—Communication, April 14, 1928.

³⁶*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, November, 1927, p. 593.

³⁷*Ibid.*, March, 1926, p. 106.

surance at a low rate.³⁸ The purposes of the International Brotherhood in setting up this insurance company have been described as follows

(1) To furnish the soundest and best possible life insurance protection at lowest possible cost to organized labor

(2) To open up a great field of economic co-operation for wage-earners

(3) To build up strong financial institutions and to keep labor's money out of unfriendly hands

(4) To enable workers to provide for their own old age and protection against death.³⁹

The immediate reason, undoubtedly, for the establishment of this insurance company was the adoption of group insurance plans by many companies, electric light and power and railroad companies, in particular, and the success of these plans, coupled with other benefits, in winning employees away from trade unions. The insurance offered by either the Electrical Workers' Benefit Association or the Union Cooperative Insurance Association, Inc., could not begin to compete with the company insurance, on a monetary basis, as the latter, in most cases, is given to the employee free of charge.⁴⁰ The union does, however, offer low-cost life insurance to the individual, the term of which is not dependent upon the term of his employment by a single corporation. The importance of this feature, particularly to linemen and other workers who are prevented from securing life insurance through the ordinary channels because of the hazardous nature of their occupation, cannot be over-emphasized. In spite of the efforts of employers to reduce labor turnover, it is common knowledge that few workmen remain in the employ of one corporation for a long period of time.

³⁸It is claimed that this insurance is cheaper than any other except the savings bank insurance of the State of Massachusetts. *Ibid*, December, 1924, p. 6.

³⁹*Ibid*, April, 1926, p. 157.

⁴⁰This was true of 83 of the 129 central station companies, which reported having employee insurance plans early in 1927. Of the others, 43 reported that the employees bore only part of the expense. In these plans, \$500 was the usual minimum and \$1,000 or \$1,500 the maximum, the exact amount depending upon the employee's term of service. Report of Industrial Relations Committee, *Proceedings, 50th Convention, NELA*, 1927, p. 250.

b Disability Benefits—National sickness and accident benefits have never been provided by the Brotherhood. Strenuous attempts were made to establish such benefits at various times. Beginning with the 1909 Convention, President McNulty repeatedly urged the adoption of a plan providing for them. Many members objected to this plan because they felt that it would be impossible to protect the Brotherhood against fraud being practiced by unscrupulous individuals. They were unwilling to pay higher dues to provide benefits which they believed would cause more harm than good.⁴¹

The payment of benefits to sick and disabled members, consequently, was left to the local unions. Some locals have made provision in their by-laws for regular payments to disabled members. They have generally varied in amount from five to ten dollars per week.⁴² Little information is available concerning the length of time during which such benefits are to be paid. Local No. 45, of Buffalo, in 1917, reported that benefits would be paid to a member for any length of time up to twenty weeks.⁴³ The fund out of which these benefits are paid is usually provided through giving a dance or raffling off some article of value. Sick benefits are provided from the proceeds of local union dues only occasionally.⁴⁴ Except in a few of the larger, stronger locals, disability benefits have been administered in an unsystematic manner.

A more commonly used method of caring for the welfare of a sick or injured member is to take up a collection among the members of the local and to send appeals to other local unions either through the official journal of the Brotherhood or by cir-

⁴¹F. J. McNulty—*Electrical Worker*, September, 1911, pp. 15-16.

⁴²In 1903, Local No. 140, of Schenectady, paid \$5.00 per week to sick journeymen and \$3.00 per week to apprentices. *Ibid.*, September, 1903, p. 35. Local No. 2, of St. Louis, paid \$10 per week to members. *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, March, 1920, p. 444. Local unions of inside wiremen have paid much higher benefits, owing to their greater financial strength.

⁴³*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, March, 1917, p. 497.

⁴⁴Local No. 9, of Chicago, in 1918, reported that the sick benefit fund had been replenished by a New Year's eve dance. *Ibid.*, March, 1918, p. 393. In 1920, Local No. 53, of Kansas City, Mo., in order to build up its benefit fund, raffled off a gold watch. *Ibid.*, November, 1920, p. 183.

cular letter. The effectiveness of this method is illustrated by the fact that members of eighty-five local unions contributed \$488.45 to a member of Local No. 1002, of Tulsa, Oklahoma.⁴⁵

In spite of the fact that large sums of money are sometimes collected for the benefit of disabled members, the method is uncertain and humiliating to the beneficiary. Neither this type of benefit nor the small rather uncertain weekly benefit which some local unions pay can compete successfully with the definite, reasonably large amounts paid by the mutual benefit associations sponsored and supported by employers.⁴⁶ The disability benefits paid by these company associations have undoubtedly been one of the most effective types of welfare plans in developing the loyalty and good will of the employee.

Realizing the weakness of the Brotherhood in this matter, the officers of the union, in drawing up the constitution of the Electrical Workers' Benefit Association in 1921, provided that old age and disability benefits should be paid by that association as soon as the financial condition of the Brotherhood would allow. Only death benefits were authorized at the time the E W B A was incorporated in 1921.⁴⁷ A pension plan was adopted at the 1927 Convention of the Brotherhood.⁴⁸ It is probable that some form of disability benefit will be adopted before many years have elapsed.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, November, 1924, p. 783.

⁴⁶Although only fifty-eight companies reported that they had employees' mutual benefit associations, in response to the request for information by the Industrial Relations Committee of the National Electric Light Association early in 1927, that number was not considered as representative by the Committee. *Proceedings, 50th Convention, N E L A*, 1927, p. 249. The amount of the payments made to disabled employees varies from 50 per cent to 75 per cent of the worker's regular earnings. In 1920, for instance, the Columbia Railway, Gas and Electric Co (Columbia, S C) paid 50 per cent. *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, June, 1920, p. 678. The disability benefit paid by the Employees' Benefit Association of the Public Service Company of Northern Illinois varies from 65 to 75 per cent of employees' regular earnings, according to length of service. *Rules of the Employees' Benefit Association of the Public Service Company of Northern Illinois*, 4th ed., August 1, 1927, p. 8.

⁴⁷Editorial, *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, November, 1921, p. 816.

⁴⁸See p. 138.

Much of what was said concerning the parallel development of life insurance plans by employers and by the Brotherhood is true concerning the development of methods of caring for disabled individuals through the payment of benefits. In the case of life insurance, however, the union has provided a plan which is more satisfactory, in many ways, to the individual concerned than the insurance furnished by the employer. There is practically nothing in the system of disability benefits provided by the Brotherhood and local unions which would attract a workman employed by almost any electric light and power company. Both life insurance and disability benefit schemes, however, have been motivated just as much, and more, in some cases, by the desire to win the loyalty of the individual workman as by the desire to make the effects of death and disability less severe upon the worker and his family.

The importance of both union and employer insurance and benefit plans has been lessened somewhat in recent years by the passage of Workmen's Compensation Acts in many states. These acts have generally been directed toward making the effects of industrial accidents less severe through compensating the injured workman or the family of deceased workers. They do not warrant more than passing attention in this study, however, as the officials of the Brotherhood have paid little attention to such laws. They have apparently neither opposed them nor worked for them.⁴⁹

The peculiarly hazardous nature of electrical work has resulted in three types of activity on the part of the members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. First, local unions have demanded higher wages, and, in a few cases, received them, because of an increase in the number of serious accidents in the industry.

⁴⁹The writer, in his study of the official publications of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, has encountered very few references to the subject. This is probably due to the fact that the movement for the enactment of such laws was most in evidence during and immediately after the 1908-1913 Secession movement in the Brotherhood, when most of the attention of the officials was taken up with internal troubles. Another reason for this indifference may lie in the fact that employers did not seem to be very strongly opposed to such acts. See Editorial, *Electrical World*, Vol. 60, No. 7, August 17, 1912, p. 339.

In the second place, attempts have been made to prevent accidents through incorporating safety provisions in trade agreements, co-operating with employers in safety programs, securing the passage of municipal ordinances and state laws and the issuance of safety ordinances by state public utility commissions, and by co-operating with these commissions in seeing that these safety rules are enforced. The Brotherhood and its local unions have exercised an important influence upon the provisions of these various safety rules, particularly those relating to climbing space between poles and electric wires. Certain companies have opposed some of the safety rules proposed by the union, and not without reason. The Brotherhood has sometimes supported safety rules for the purpose of increasing the demand for linemen, which conformity to these rules would entail, as well as for increasing the safety of the workers.

In the third place, benefit schemes have been developed to make the effects of accidents less severe upon the worker and his family. Thus reason for the development of benefit plans, however, seems to have been secondary to the hope on the part of union leaders of developing the loyalty of union members and of attracting new members. The Union Cooperative Insurance Association, Inc., was formed in 1924 for still a third reason, in addition to the two mentioned above. It was expected that this business venture would enhance the financial prestige of the Brotherhood. The death benefit or life insurance features provided by the I B E W compare favorably with insurance offered by employers. The disability benefits provided by the union are unattractive, when compared with the benefits paid by the company-supported mutual benefit associations.

The interesting thing to the student of trade union activities about the problem of safety, in so far as it affects the trade unionists employed in the central station industry, is that the attempts to solve the problem have often been directed just as much toward making more work for linemen, as in the case of accident prevention activities, and, in the case of insurance activities, toward developing the loyalty of employees and enhancing the economic prestige of the Brotherhood.

THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment in the central station industry may be classified roughly as follows (1) cyclical unemployment, or that which accompanies general industrial depression, (2) seasonal unemployment, (3) unemployment due to deficiencies in industrial management, and (4) unemployment due to strikes and lock-outs.⁵⁰ Union attempts to prevent unemployment and to make the consequences of unemployment less severe can be explained only in the light of these various types of unemployment.

1 *Unemployment Prevention*—Neither the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers nor any other trade union has been able to do very much toward preventing cyclical unemployment. The International President, at the request of Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover, assisted the Unemployment Commission in its studies of the causes and possible remedies of unemployment in 1923.⁵¹ That is about the limit of the Brotherhood's activities along this line. Though the electric light and power industry has by no means been free from the evils accompanying periods of general business depression, it is probable that cyclical unemployment has not been so serious in this and other public utility industries as it has been in non-regulated industries.

The fact that the lineman is an outside worker makes the problem of seasonal unemployment peculiarly important to this type of worker. Yet the union has done practically nothing toward lessening this type of unemployment. This acceptance of the situation has probably been due, in part, to the fact that the men themselves have made the problem of seasonal unemployment less severe by spending the winter months in the

⁵⁰Although union leaders have been campaigning vigorously against technical unemployment, or unemployment due to the introduction of machinery, the writer feels that this subject does not merit further consideration than was given it in Chapter I. It was there pointed out that the distribution branch of the central station industry, with which this study is concerned primarily, has been almost completely free from this type of unemployment. See pp. 17-18.

⁵¹J. P. Noonan—*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1923, p. 27. This Commission's studies were directed toward the building trades more than toward the public utilities industries, as the problem of unemployment in the former was considered to be more serious at that time.

southern states and the summer months in the north⁵² This remedy obviously is of little advantage to married men and to others who desire to live in one locality during the entire year

Seasonal unemployment has sometimes been rather closely related to unemployment caused by poor industrial management Some utility officials have been guilty of overexpanding their working force, particularly in their line departments, for short periods of time in order to rebuild or extend their transmission and distribution systems, keeping the new employees on the payroll long enough to make them think that they have a regular job, and then dismissing them In general, however, the electric light and power industry has been freer from this type of unemployment than many other industries This has been due, in part, to the fact that it enjoys a steady income because the demand for its product is relatively constant and because the price of this product is fixed by governmental agencies, and, partly, due to the fact that some utility officials have seen the advantage of an industrial policy that keeps a relatively small force of men working steadily rather than a larger force working irregularly⁵³ Nothing of a definite nature has been attempted by the Brotherhood or its local unions toward lessening this type of unemployment

⁵²That this was a common tendency is indicated by the following complaint from a member of Local No 84, of Atlanta "We have to bear the burden of the so-called snowbird who comes down here in the wintertime and informs you that as soon as the snow is off the ground up north he is going to go where he can make big money" B Bailey—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, May, 1920, p 599 Another indication of this tendency is found in the report of Local No 69 of Dallas in August, 1905, to the effect that "most of the brother linemen have departed for the North" J S Gibbs—*Electrical Worker*, August, 1905, p 98

⁵³Local No 66, of Houston, for instance, reported in June, 1927, that the Houston Light and Power Company had adopted this policy "Evidently they have set a limit on the number of linemen they are to use in the city, as the number varies but little, and by keeping busy they are always just a step behind the progress of the city, consequently we have no layoffs, which would otherwise happen should the company adopt the policy of putting on large forces and build the city up 10 years ahead, and then a big layoff" R. King—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, June, 1927, p 304

While the Brotherhood has made practically no attempts to decrease unemployment, in general, like other trade unions, it has attempted to ensure employment for its own members, at the expense, if necessary, of non-unionists, through signing closed or preferential union shop agreements with employers. As indicated in a previous chapter, the number of union shop agreements between central station employers and branches of the I B E W has been very small. Even in those periods in which these employers were more prone to sign such agreements, they were entered into because the employers needed men rather than because of union attempts to reduce unemployment. Very few trade agreements were signed during periods of industrial depression and widespread unemployment, hence, trade agreements cannot be considered as effective union instruments for reducing unemployment.

Practically the only effective attempts of the Brotherhood to reduce unemployment in the electric light and power industry have been the efforts of its members to secure the passage of safety rules which would cause companies to increase their operating force or rebuild their transmission and distribution system, thus increasing the demand for linemen. The hazardous nature of electrical work has thus been used to good advantage by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in reducing unemployment among its members.⁵⁴

Unemployment caused by strikes or lockouts is of an entirely different nature from the types of unemployment described above. It cannot be considered apart from the problems of wages, hours, and other working conditions. Trade union philosophy, as is well-known, holds that unemployment because of strikes or lockouts, serious though it may be, is more to be preferred than security of employment under non-union conditions and at low wages, long hours, and other unsatisfactory working conditions. Attempts to prevent this type of unemployment, consequently, have been confined to attempts to improve working conditions through peaceful methods to such a level that strikes would be unnecessary. These activities have already been studied in some detail and need not be gone into in this connection.⁵⁵ The total

⁵⁴See pp. 115, 120.

⁵⁵See Chapter II, particularly p. 97.

number of strikes and lockouts in the central station industry has been so small that unemployment resulting from them has been relatively insignificant. Recent developments in the relations between the industry and the Brotherhood indicate that industrial disputes will result in suspension of work even less often in the future than they have in the past.⁵⁶

Attempts of the union to lessen unemployment in the industry have been infrequent and ineffective, chiefly because the responsibility for solving that problem belongs primarily to the employers. Agitation for the passage of certain rules relating to the construction and operation of transmission and distribution systems has been almost the only effective attempt by the union to reduce unemployment.

2 *Unemployment Insurance and Out-of-Work Benefits*—No form of unemployment insurance or out-of-work benefit, other than strike or "difficulty" benefits, has ever been provided by the International Brotherhood. Local unions, in a few instances, have provided a fund out of which idle members have been paid regular benefits for a short time.⁵⁷ The chief reason for the lack of such a system of benefits is the possibility of fraud on the part of unscrupulous members.

At various times during the history of the organization, strike benefits have been paid by the International. No benefits of this type have been paid, however, since 1922. Many of the local unions have provided for the payment of difficulty benefits. Strike benefits have been of such importance in the history of organized labor that the history of their use by the Brotherhood cannot be dismissed briefly.⁵⁸

When the Brotherhood was established in 1891, it was generally recognized that no trade union could retain its members during times of difficulty with employers unless it provided some means for their support while they were out on strike. The newly

⁵⁶See pp 97 and 98 and n 210, Chap II.

⁵⁷In 1915, Local No 1, of St Louis, consisting of inside wiremen, raised a fund of \$5,121.87, all of which was spent for the benefit of its many unemployed members within sixty days. *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, April, 1915, p 237.

⁵⁸This review of the movement for difficulty benefits is based on a more detailed study by Mr Mulcaire. See *op cit*, pp 101-111.

organized local unions could not be depended upon to furnish this support. The first convention of the union accordingly provided for the payment of difficulty benefits of five dollars per week to married men and four dollars per week to single men. The constitution outlined a rigid procedure which was to be followed by local unions before they were entitled to strike benefits. No strike, it was provided, was considered legal unless the causes of it had been investigated by a member of the Executive Board and the strike approved by him. This kept the number of authorized strikes down, but the International officers had so little control over the local unions that many illegal strikes occurred. Most of these strikers considered themselves to be morally, if not legally, entitled to receive benefits. The refusal of the Grand officers to pay these benefits to every one that asked for them and various other factors in connection with the administration of the difficulty benefits created so much dissatisfaction that the provision for such payments was abolished entirely in 1903. A defense fund was established, from which payments were to be made to local unions engaged in strikes which the Executive Board considered to involve the very existence of the Brotherhood. This method was no more satisfactory than the previous method.

With the establishment of the District Council plan of organization in 1905, it was provided that one-half the per capita tax collected from the members of each council was to be placed at the disposal of the officers of that council for organizing and defense purposes. The arbitrary manner in which benefits were granted to local unions engaged in difficulty by many district council officials caused great dissatisfaction with this plan.

After the District Council plan was abandoned in 1909, no provision was contained in the constitution then adopted for the payment of strike benefits. A defense fund was provided, but it was to be devoted exclusively to defray legal expenses which might be incurred by any litigation in which the Brotherhood became involved. The more powerful local unions soon established their own difficulty benefit funds. Most of the members of the organization, however, were without any means of support, as far as the union was concerned, during strikes and lockouts. The International Executive Board voted donations,

occasionally, to the most needy of those who continually petitioned the International Office for aid. The granting of loans to local unions and the remission of their per capita tax during periods of difficulty were more common methods of assisting striking members. When all other sources had failed, local unions whose members were in difficulty circulated appeals for aid among other trade unionists and friends of organized labor.

This unsatisfactory state of affairs prompted the International officers and many members to agitate constantly for the establishment of a regular fund out of which regular strike benefits could be paid. It was not until 1919 that the membership signified their willingness that such a plan be established. The Difficulty Benefit Fund went into effect January 1, 1920, with a surplus at zero. It was provided that no benefits were to be paid for a period of one year, in order to build up a surplus. The fund was financed by apportioning to it fourteen cents of the monthly per capita and one-half of all initiation fees.

The drain upon the fund was so heavy during the first year of its existence, owing to the large number of members involved in building trade strikes, that the International officers were compelled to borrow money in order to meet the obligations of the Brotherhood to its members. Even this was not sufficient, and payments were suspended. To meet the deficit already created, the 1921 Convention voted a special assessment of six dollars per capita. The railroad Shop Crafts strike involved many members of the Brotherhood, with the result that the Difficulty Benefit Fund became insolvent. The 1923 Convention, at the suggestion of the International officers, suspended the payment of difficulty benefits, in order to apply the incoming funds to the payment of the benefits already owed to members who had been on strike between 1921 and 1923.⁶⁰ This suspension of payment of strike benefits was continued by action of the 1925 Convention. By the middle of 1927, the International Brotherhood had met all of its obligations to its members. The 1927 Convention, however, instead of resuming the payment of difficulty benefits, abolished that part of the Constitution which had authorized the payment of difficulty benefits, and transferred the funds which

⁶⁰*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1925, pp. 5, 42.

had been assigned to the Difficulty Benefit Fund to a newly-created Pension Fund.⁶⁰

The members evidently felt that they had been getting along very well without the payment of difficulty benefits for several years and that it was not as necessary to the welfare of the Brotherhood as a pension plan. They felt this way, undoubtedly, because employers were using pension plans with marked success to attract workers away from the union.⁶¹

With the decline in the amount of unemployment caused by difficulties with employers, the importance of providing strike benefits has likewise become less. Strikes have generally been infrequent enough to enable the strikers to secure work in other trades and in other parts of the country or to enable them to be supported through donations from other unionists and labor sympathizers.⁶²

In conclusion, the attitude of the Brotherhood toward the problem of unemployment, for the most part, has been one of indifference. The only accomplishment of the organization, as far as the prevention of unemployment is concerned, has been the passage of certain safety rules and the issuance of orders by governmental agencies enforcing these rules, which necessitated the employment of a larger number of men. Nothing in the way of out-of-work benefits, except strike benefits, has been provided by the International Union, and very little by local unions. Even the latter type of benefit has seldom been satisfactory.

This indifferent attitude can be explained largely by the fact that it has been realized by union leaders that the problem of unemployment is too involved for any one organization to attempt to solve. These leaders apparently feel that it is up to employers and society, in general, to reduce unemployment.

THE PROBLEM OF SUPERANNUATION

The above discussion has indicated that the need for prevention of accidents and of unemployment has been as great as the need for relief measures. In the case of superannuation, however, prevention is of far less importance than relief. Indeed,

⁶⁰*Proceedings, 19th Regular Convention, IBEW, 1927, pp. 100-103.*

⁶¹*Report of Officers, IBEW, 1927, pp. 24, 47.*

⁶²See pp. 77, 78, and 79 for instances of such support.

superannuation is often beneficial to the worker, the industry, and society. This is particularly true in such a hazardous trade as that of the electrical worker, in which alertness and skill on the part of the worker are essential to the welfare of everybody concerned. Retirement due to old age is scarcely to be classed as preventable.

Superannuation is truly a calamity, however, unless some means of support is provided for the worker and his family after his retirement from active duty. It is generally recognized that laboring men are seldom able to save enough money to support themselves in idleness during old age. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has for many years considered various methods for lessening the hazards of superannuation for its members.

The subject was first brought up at the 1905 Convention, when a resolution was introduced calling for the establishment of a home "for the Brothers who have passed the age of usefulness." It was voted down.⁶³ Spasmodic attempts were made to provide for the establishment of such a home during the next twenty years. The 1923 Convention of the Brotherhood authorized the submission of the question to the membership. The referendum resulted in a decisive defeat for the National Home proposition.⁶⁴ The chief objection to all of these attempts to establish a home for aged members has been that the relatively small number of men who would be willing to give up their own homes to enter the union institution did not justify the expense of establishing and maintaining such a home.

The 1925 Convention rejected the proposition to establish a home but definitely instructed the officers to prepare a pension plan.⁶⁵ It was thought that the pension plan would be of value to a much larger number of members and would in turn tend to tie the members to the union. Indeed, it is evident that the pension plan was urged more for the purpose of counteracting the effect of the adoption of pension plans by employers than for the nominal purpose of caring for the old members. The fact that so many electrical workers, particularly linemen, either

⁶³*Proceedings, 9th Regular Convention, IBEW, 1905*, pp. 398-400.

⁶⁴*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, October, 1924, p. 690.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, September, 1925, p. 700.

die early or leave the trade because of its hazardous nature tends to make the question of old-age benefits somewhat less important than in other less hazardous trades and also less important than death and disability benefits⁶⁶ President Noonan, in urging the establishment of the pension plan, showed clearly that the successful use of pension and group insurance schemes by employers was the chief reason for the establishment of similar plans by the Brotherhood⁶⁷

The recommendations of the officers to the 1927 Convention met with the approval of the delegates, and the Pension Fund was established. The plan was put into effect January 1, 1928⁶⁸ It provided that "Any member who has attained the age of sixty-five (65) years and who has been a member of the I.B.E.W. in continuous good standing for twenty (20) years immediately preceding his making application, shall be eligible to be placed on pension." The pension amounts to forty dollars per month and carries with it exemption from all dues. The recipient of the pension is granted a withdrawal card from the Brotherhood, but promises to continue to "show due obedience to the constitution of the I.B.E.W. and the by-laws of the local unions thereof." The active members of the Brotherhood are protected

*In commenting on the pension plan, one member declared "The restrictions are so stringent as to make it practically impossible for more than a very few, who by reason of very good luck, are able to keep at work and pay dues for 20 years, to attain that standing and still be alive at 65 years in this business. Shorn of its verbiage, the whole thing seems more a device to keep the boys in line and paid up." S. G. Hatton, Local No. 28, Baltimore—*Ibid.*, November, 1927, p. 586

"We have been long under the conviction that in order to maintain the economic ground now occupied by the Brotherhood and to make further progress, we must give attention to providing means whereby the membership of the organization can supply for themselves, at a nominal cost, benefits now held out to them by employers posing as philanthropists. In the adoption of a pension system by the Brotherhood, we would be taking a long step in the direction of removing the fear of actual want in old age from the members. And, if the benefit coming therefrom had any influence upon the loyalty of the men, that sense or feeling of loyalty and co-operation would be directed towards the organization of which they are a part owner rather than to the employer." *Report of Officers, I.B.E.W.*, 1927, p. 24

⁶⁸*Proceedings, 19th Regular Convention, I.B.E.W.*, 1927, p. 99

through a provision which prohibits any member admitted to pension benefit from performing "any electrical work of any kind either for compensation or gratis for anyone"⁶⁹ The pension system is financed through a small increase in the monthly per capita dues and through the transfer of that portion of the per capita dues which had formerly been assigned to the payment of difficulty benefits to the new Pension Fund⁷⁰ The pension system is thus virtually substituted for difficulty benefits No better indications could be found of the decline in the importance of the strike and the ascendancy of subtler methods of strengthening the position of the Brotherhood

The pension or service annuity systems used by employers are generally of a more complex nature than the system adopted by the Brotherhood⁷¹ The essential features in all pension plans, including that described above, do not differ greatly The pensions are usually granted free of charge to employees, whereas each member of the union pays thirty-seven cents per month into the Pension Fund⁷² As in the case of life insurance plans, however, this seeming advantage is counteracted to some extent by the fact that the individual can secure his pension from the union regardless of his employer or the type of work he does He must, it is true, keep himself in good standing with the Brotherhood, but it is reasonable to conclude that the chances of a man's working for one employer until he reaches the retirement age are less than his chances of continuing to belong to an organization⁷³

The pension plan of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, in even greater degree than the Brotherhood's insurance activities, has achieved importance in the eyes of the

⁶⁹Article XXVI, *Constitution of the IBEW*, 1927

⁷⁰*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1927, pp. 24, 47

⁷¹See *Reports of Industrial Relations Committee, NELA*, 1925-1926, pp. 22-26, for a detailed analysis of the pensions plans of eighteen central station companies

⁷²Section 6, Article XII, *Constitution, IBEW*, 1927

⁷³Article XXIV of the Constitution provides that any member of the Brotherhood who becomes an employer or executive or who retires from the trade may secure a withdrawal transfer card from the local union He then pays his monthly dues to the International Office and continues to share in all benefits of the Brotherhood

officials of the union more because of its loyalty-building qualities than because of its effectiveness in solving the problem of superannuation

EDUCATION, RECREATION, AND THRIFT

1 *Education*—Technical education and education in trade union principles, for many years, constituted the sole educational activities of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. They were carried on through articles in the *Electrical Worker* and through programs of local union meetings. These activities were largely of an unorganized nature. They apparently had no other objective than to comply in some manner with the constitutional provision which held, and still holds, that one of the objects of the Brotherhood is "to encourage the formation of schools of instruction in LUs for teaching the practical application of electricity and for trade education generally."⁷⁴

Educational activities of the union took a new direction when many educators, backed oftentimes by associations of employers, began to urge the establishment of vocational training schools under public auspices. Electrical workers, as well as other union laborers, opposed these efforts, on the ground that such systems of vocational training would flood the market with craftsmen and thus depress wages. In order to offset this vocational education movement, unions began to develop co-operative systems which would have most of the advantages and none of the disadvantages, as far as organized labor was concerned, of vocational education. In Chicago, for instance, Local No. 134 arranged with the Board of Education and employers to send its apprentices to one of the technical high schools of the city for one-half day each school week of the year. Employers were to pay the apprentice one dollar for each half-day spent in school. The Board of Education was to furnish the instruction. The Union was to furnish the textbooks and to see that the apprentices spent this time to good advantage while in school. Instruction was given in English, civics, mathematics, mechanical drawing, and laboratory work following as closely as possible the practical experience of the apprentices.⁷⁵ This arrangement

⁷⁴Article II, *Constitution of the IBEW*.

⁷⁵E. J. Evans, "Vocational Schools"—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, August, 1914, p. 398.

is still in existence. Similar systems have been put into effect in many other cities.⁷⁶ Practically all of them, however, including the Chicago arrangement, have been established by locals of inside wiremen, rather than by linemen's locals. In a number of cases, however, members of the latter type of locals have shared in the benefits of such vocational training systems.⁷⁷ The failure of linemen's local unions to take a leading part in establishing this type of educational plan, or any other, for that matter, has been due, in part, to the fact that the linemen's trade cannot be taught in a school or laboratory with facility, and, in part, to the fact that linemen have prided themselves on being "rough-necks"⁷⁸ and have seen little need of education.

In recent years, the International officers of the Brotherhood have attempted to encourage members of the union to broaden their education. One issue of the *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators* during each year, beginning with 1925, has been dedicated to education. The formation of labor schools and colleges and the enrolling in schools of this nature which are already in existence have been urged in a vigorous manner. The officers recommend that members learn as much as possible about the social sciences and allied subjects, particularly economics and history.⁷⁹ The most important event of an educational nature, as far as the electrical workers are concerned, has been the holding of the Grant Power Institute at Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, New York, July 19-31, 1926. This Institute was conducted by the International officers of the Brotherhood in conjunction with the officials of the College. It was attended by representatives of ten local unions. The sessions of the conference were addressed by public utility commissioners, economists, utility officials, and labor leaders. All phases of the power

⁷⁶E. J. Evans, International Vice-President—*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1925, p. 89.

⁷⁷Local No. 210, for instance, a lineman's local, reported that thirty-five of its members were attending the night school established largely through the efforts of Local No. 211, an inside local, in Atlantic City. *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, February, 1924, p. 164.

⁷⁸Local No. 245 is just on the verge of attempting what has always been thought an impossibility and that is to make a gentleman out of a lineman. "E. E. Dukeshire—*Ibid*, April, 1927, p. 199.

⁷⁹J. P. Noonan—*Ibid*, August, 1926, p. 372.

question were discussed by these speakers and by the union members in attendance. Special reference was given to the place of union labor in the development of the power industry and to the question of public ownership.⁸⁰ The influence of this institute has been wider than would be suspected from the fact that only ten unions were represented. Full publicity was given in the official journal to everything that occurred at the conference. Local unions have taken up the study of the questions discussed at the Brookwood meeting.⁸¹

As a part of this broader tendency in union educational activity, the *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators* has emphasized the value of reading the right kind of literature and recommended books and magazines. A recent issue contained a list of recommended books, labelled "A Ten-Foot Shelf of Books for Trade Unionists." It contained not only works on economics and history, but also books on war, fiction, drama, poetry, psychology, and biography.⁸²

The following statement is characteristic of what members of the union expect from education and describes the types of subjects which the Brotherhood's educational program should include: "The primary need is to develop a membership that will understand the theory and practice of labor unionism, based on a knowledge of sociology and economics, with a background of history, ancient and modern. Also a thorough training in the use of English and in the elements of electricity."⁸³

Increased educational activity of the Brotherhood as well as of other labor organizations in recent years has probably been due to the fact that the type of educational facilities which have been provided and encouraged by employers as a part of their welfare programs have reacted to the disadvantage of trade

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, August, 1926, pp. 363-367.

⁸¹A member of the linemen's local in Portland, Me., for instance, reported as follows: "We are making a study of giant power (Vice-President Erickson, who spent some time at Brookwood, suggested this) and each meeting we have a question on the power revolution to answer and there's some arguing." R. E. Bondway, Local No. 333—*Ibid.*, February, 1927, p. 97.

⁸²*Ibid.*, December, 1926, p. 590.

⁸³I. S. Gordon, Local No. 7, Springfield, Massachusetts—*Ibid.*, June, 1926, p. 277.

unions. The educational programs of employers are characterized chiefly by the fact that they offer the individual an opportunity to fit himself for a better position and eventually become an executive. The educational program of the union is calculated to make the individual a better union member as well as a better workman and thus react to the strength of the union. The latter program is based on the assumption that the individual is likely to stay in the same type of job and that his interests can be better served through building up the strength of the union.

It is evident that education is another sphere of welfare activity in which competition between employer and union for the loyalty of the individual worker has been present.

2 *Recreation*—Competition for the loyalty of the electrical worker has evidenced itself, also, in other welfare schemes, such as social and athletic activities. These activities on the part of both companies and unions are so varied that they can be discussed in only a general manner. Unions have probably been more successful in developing the loyalty of workers through social activities than have the companies. The success of picnics, parties, etc., depends, ordinarily, more on the spirit of the participants than on their elaborateness. This spirit is bound to be more conducive to the success of a social undertaking when the participants feel that they or their representatives have been entirely responsible for the undertaking than when the impetus for the event comes from the employer. Athletic activities of the companies have probably been more successful than those of the unions. The companies have been better able to stand the financial expense incident to the organization of and equipment for athletic activities, which are so essential to the success of an athletic program.⁸⁴

No further attention need be given to recreational activities of employers and unions. They are of minor importance in developing the loyalty of workers, as compared to the other welfare schemes described in the preceding pages.

3 *Thrift*—One of the most successful methods of making an employee feel that he is a part of the company and thus of

⁸⁴These conclusions are based on the writer's experience as an employee of an electric light and power company.

developing his loyalty has been the sale of securities of the company to employees and the development of other savings plans. The union has strongly opposed this type of welfare activity, along with group insurance, pensions, etc., but has been able to offer practically nothing to the individual in their place. The spread of the movement for employee ownership of stock among central station employees prompted Secretary Ford, of the I B E W, in 1923, to urge the establishment of an Investment Bureau, through which members of the Brotherhood would be able to purchase high-grade securities.⁸⁰ This was not done, but the members did create, in November, 1924, the Union Cooperative Insurance Association, Inc., which presented some thrift features to the members of the union. Somewhat less than one thousand members of the Brotherhood purchased stock in this corporation. The company also offers certain investment features through the sale of endowment insurance policies. The encouragement to save through this association, however, is scarcely comparable to the investment opportunities offered by the savings plans of the companies.⁸¹

The subjects discussed in this chapter, in some respects, are of such a diverse nature that they have little in common. Each one of them, however, has represented a phase of the welfare activity of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Most of them have likewise been co-ordinate parts of the Brotherhood's attempt to counteract the effect of employers' welfare activities upon the loyalty of the workers. It is indeed difficult to escape the conclusion that, in the minds of both employers and union leaders, the nominal purpose of instituting welfare plans has been overshadowed by the hope that they would be effective loyalty-building devices. That the welfare activities of central station companies, co-ordinated as they have

⁸⁰*Report of Officers, I B E W*, 1923, p. 35.

⁸¹The savings plan of the United Power and Light Company, serving approximately 150 communities in Kansas, is rather an extreme example of thrift encouragement. July 1, 1922, the employees were informed that they must save at least 10 per cent of their salaries and give a complete report of these savings to a designated company official. All investments made by the employees are subject to the approval of an investment committee consisting of officials of the company. *Electric Traktion*, August, 1927, p. 407.

been in recent years as parts of the company union movement, have been successful in building loyalty was indicated in Chapter II. The decline of union influence upon wages and working conditions was there attributed very largely to the spread of this movement. The expansion of the benefit features of the Brotherhood has grown out of the expansion of the company union movement. It is of too recent date to determine just what effect it has had upon the strength of the union, but it does seem probable that continued expansion of these features, if it is combined with greater recognition of the problem of efficiency by union leaders and members,⁸⁷ will be more effective in reconstructing the strength of the Brotherhood in the electric light and power industry than the use of the strike.

⁸⁷Although Article II of the *Constitution of the I B E W* declares that one of the objects of the union is "to maintain a higher standard of skill," a study of the activities of local unions, particularly linemen's locals, indicates that the questions of skill and efficiency have received scant attention. Throughout the history of the activities of the Brotherhood among central station employees, the question of efficiency has been left for the employer to solve. The union members have given their attention to the questions of wages, hours, safety, and other questions relating to the well-being of the individual worker, have worked carefully and efficiently enough to hold their jobs, and have trusted the employer to increase efficiency. It is probable, however, that the national understanding, which officers of the Brotherhood hope to reach with leaders in the electric light and power industry and which was mentioned in Chapter II, will embody greater recognition of the importance of efficiency by union leaders and members.

CHAPTER IV

THE METHOD OF PROPAGANDA

Chapters II and III have dealt very largely with the influence of the union upon the condition of the worker. The emphasis in this chapter is different. Although the activities of the union described herein are directed toward the ultimate betterment of the condition of its members, the relation between these activities and the welfare of the workers is so indirect that the immediate effect is upon the industry itself rather than upon the workers in the industry. "Propaganda" is a summary term which may be used to describe those activities of a trade union which, although aimed at the ultimate betterment of the condition of its members, are directed immediately toward influencing public opinion for or against an individual employer or the entire group of employers who make up an industry.

A public utility, such as the electric light and power industry, offers an unusual opportunity for labor to use the method of propaganda, in that it is generally recognized that such an industry cannot continue to do business on a satisfactory basis unless it enjoys favorable public relations. The ill will of the public may react to the disadvantage of a utility company in several ways. It may make it difficult for the company to secure and hold satisfactory franchises which are necessary for the extension and carrying on of its business. It may subject the company to various rules pertaining to the construction and operation of equipment and the rendering of service, some of which may be of a troublesome, unreasonable nature. It may add to the company's difficulties in securing and maintaining rates of service adequate to ensure a fair return to investors. Finally, and most to be feared by private companies, it may result in the government's taking over the business. The elaborate public relations programs which electric companies have carried on in recent years were probably instituted more for the purpose of counteracting agitation for public ownership of the industry than for any other reason.

The worker because of his dual character of employee and citizen occupies a strategic position in determining whether a

utility company's relations with the public are to be favorable or otherwise. As an employee, the individual worker has it in his power to make or mar, to some extent, the company's reputation, through the quality of service he renders to customers. As a citizen, the worker influences public opinion through his voice, his actions, and his vote.

The important part which employees play in determining what kind of relations exist between the industry and the public has been recognized by utility men. In 1922, the chairman of the newly-organized Public Relations Committee of the National Electric Light Association, in discussing the work of such a committee, said:

The contact of our industry with the public is largely through our employees. The lineman, the meter reader, the trouble clerk, the cashier in the cage, the telephone operator, and the office boy answering the telephone have in their hands the popularity or unpopularity of our industry with a very large proportion of the public.¹

Utility companies, as a general rule, have been relatively successful in training their employees to perform their duties in such a manner that public relations will not be injured. Even those employees who have been dissatisfied with wages and working conditions have tended to perform their duties, either because of pride, habit, hope of promotion, or fear of losing their jobs, in such a manner that public relations have not suffered.² No further attention need be given to this phase of the influence of labor upon public relations, chiefly because no union has attempted to improve or destroy a company's public relations through instructing its members as to the type of service they should render.

¹M. J. Insull—*Proceedings, 45th Convention, N. E. L. A., 1922*, Vol. I, p. 10.

²This is indicated by the fact that the same letter which expressed dissatisfaction with the wages paid by the Toledo Edison Company also contained the following statement: "We are all public servants and our job is not only to serve them light, heat and power, but also to serve them as good citizens and thereby become friends of those we serve and by doing this we have helped make it possible for the Toledo Edison Company to grow to its position as the largest firm of its kind in northwestern Ohio." E. E. Dukeshire, Local No. 245—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, July, 1927, p. 370.

The worker, as a citizen, however, acts more or less independently of the corporation by which he is employed. He discusses public questions as he pleases. He votes on these questions as he pleases. He works for the passage of ordinances and bills which he believes will benefit him, he opposes ordinances and bills which he believes will work to his disadvantage. His attitude toward public questions involving his employer depends more than anything else upon the treatment he has received at the hands of that employer. If individual workers are organized into a trade union, their influence becomes particularly important, owing to the cohesiveness and solidarity of the whole organized labor movement and also to the fact that methods of disseminating propaganda have been developed to a high degree by organized labor.³

It is in this connection—that is, labor as a part of the citizenry—that organized labor, as embodied chiefly by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, has exerted an influence upon public relations in the electric light and power industry. The extent of this influence can be discovered only through studying the attempts of the Brotherhood to influence public opinion concerning certain specific questions which the industry has had to face. Most important of these has been the problem of agitation for public ownership. It is treated in considerable detail in the latter part of this chapter. No one of the other questions, such as the securing of franchises, higher rates and miscellaneous questions, is of sufficient importance, as far as the influence of the union is concerned, to warrant separate treatment.

³In making this statement concerning labor solidarity, the writer does not ignore the many factional disputes which have several times threatened the life of the organized labor movement. The official journal of almost any trade union, however, contains almost as many articles relative to the troubles of other unions as to its own. Officials of one union frequently appear at the conventions of other unions to appeal for support. Officials of the United Mine Workers and the Tobacco Workers International Union, for instance, appealed to the Electrical Workers at their 1927 Convention. *Proceedings, 19th Regular Convention, I B E W*, 1927, pp. 118, 141.

MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS INVOLVING PUBLIC RELATIONS

The attitude of the Brotherhood toward questions involving the public relations of electric light and power companies has been determined not so much by the wages, hours, and other working conditions enjoyed by central station employees as by whether or not the union is recognized by the company. The history of the influence of the union upon wages and working conditions, as sketched in Chapter II, indicates that the industry, in general, has shown a strong tendency not to deal with the local unions of the Brotherhood. It would be expected, consequently, that whatever influence the Brotherhood has exerted upon the public relations of electric light and power companies would be to their detriment. This has been generally true. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and organized labor, in general, have usually attempted to influence public opinion against the power industry rather than for it.

Nevertheless, wherever a company has shown any disposition to recognize the union and deal with it openly, the influence of the latter has reacted to the advantage of the company. In 1918, for instance, President Fleishacker, of the Northwestern Electric Company, personally thanked the members of Local No 125, of Portland, Oregon, for their efforts in securing a favorable popular vote for the granting of a franchise to the company. The local had given its support to the company's plea for a franchise in return for a signed agreement calling for a higher wage than other companies in the vicinity paid.⁴

Local unions have similarly assisted friendly companies in securing higher rates. In this type of activity, they have sometimes been opposed by other labor bodies, acting in their capacity as consumers. The following statement from an officer of Local No 4, of New Orleans, describes such a case.

The city has granted the N O Railways the privilege of raising the carfare to 6c and also to raise the rates on electricity 10 per cent and on gas 30 per cent. Organized labor has taken the matter into the courts to stop them by trying to get an injunction against them. The case has not come to trial yet and the company has put the new rates into effect. We

⁴C. Noitin—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, February, 1924, p. 159.

have three delegates in the Central Trades and Labor Council and they have been instructed to oppose this move on the part of organized labor and to vote in favor of the railways company being allowed to proceed with its new rates. The company has granted increases of salary to all of its employees and therefore its operating expenses have increased to nearly seven figures per annum more. Therefore, they should be allowed to increase their rates, so they can pay the increased salaries. Organized labor in other branches has received large increases in salaries and their employers have had to raise the price on their products and not a murmur was heard against them. Let them concern themselves over their own affairs. What we want them to do is to drop this suit against the company for an injunction. The trouble is that some of these bum attorneys are out of a job and wanting some coin have put the mischief into their heads. We will see it through on the floor of the Central Trades and Labor Council.⁶

Although the opposition of Local No. 4 was not strong enough to stop the central body's fight against the higher rates, the electrical workers' active support of the higher rates may have been a factor in leading the courts to uphold them.⁶

Attention has already been called to certain attempts of the union to better its position through exciting public opinion against an employer. Local No. 125, in connection with its strike against the Northwestern Electric Company in 1923-1925, boycotted the service of the company and urged citizens to patronize the competing company in the city of Portland, Oregon.⁷ Municipal and state safety rules have been secured at times, through union influence, and in spite of the opposition of companies.⁸ Local unions have taken advantage of the industry's dependence upon favorable public relations in various other ways.

In the Northwestern Electric Company strike, the electrical workers, backed by other labor bodies in the city, appeared before the City Council in opposition to the company's petition to erect a high-voltage transmission line through a congested section of the city, carried on propaganda urging the public not to buy the bonds offered by the company, and opposed certain bills

⁶E. M. Smith—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, November, 1918, p. 184.

⁷*Ibid.*, May, 1919, p. 512.

⁸See p. 96.

⁹See pp. 113-121.

which the union claimed were introduced in the legislature for the purpose of protecting the irrigation properties of the Fleishackers who owned the Northwestern Electric Company.*

One of the clearest examples of union influence reacting to the disadvantage of a central station company was the holding up of a street lighting contract in 1914 between the City of Boston and the Edison Electric Illuminating Company. Members of Local No. 104 "went before the Boston City Council and held up the contract for the street lighting of the City of Boston. And with the aid of the city council fought the contract and in the end saved the city a nice little sum of money and got a better contract all together and also got a clause stricken out of the Edison Company's employment application blank where it asks if you belong to any labor union or not."¹⁰ The dispute finally caused the City and the Edison Company to request the Massachusetts Board of Gas and Electric Light Commissioners to act as an arbitrator. After an extensive investigation of the briefs submitted by the two parties,¹¹ the state body ruled that a fair annual average cost of the street lighting to the city, for the ten years during which the contract was to be in effect, should be \$437,000 rather than \$479,718.70, the amount which the Company had demanded.¹² While the union's claim that it was re-

*J. S. Milne, Local No. 125—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, March, 1925, p. 261.

¹⁰H. W. Shivers—*Ibid.*, July, 1915, p. 474.

¹¹Early in 1917, Local No. 104 reported that "the company has been busy attending to the investigation of the Gas and Electric Light Commission on the City of Boston Lighting Contract, which we fought two years ago. The Commission has brought to light something which would have never been known by the public, had we sat still and not entered any protest two years ago. Before then, the city had no clause in their contract whereby they could ask the Gas and Light Commission to investigate the doings of the Edison Company." H. W. Shivers—*Ibid.*, February, 1917, p. 431.

¹²The ruling upheld the claim of the city that the Company had included items in the investment for street lighting that would have been incurred if the company had never sold street lighting to the City. The Company was also rebuked for the "illusory exactness" of its figures. "Arbitration of Street Lighting Contract between the City of Boston and the Edison Electric Illuminating Company of Boston, Dated December 7, 1914"—*Gas and Electric Light Commissioners' Report for the Year 1918*, Public Document No. 35, State of Massachusetts, pp. 13-27.

sponsible for the investigation of the contract with the resulting reduction in the Edison Company's annual income from the street lighting business is probably exaggerated, it is evident that it did have something to do with it

Organized labor has spread propaganda for measures affecting the entire industry within a state as well as directed its efforts against one particular company. That it played a part in the adoption by the voters of the amendment providing for Home Rule by Ohio cities, in 1912, is indicated by the following circular sent out by the Ohio State Federation of Labor: "We are asking that each International send a personal letter to each member urging him to go to the polls. The Public Service Corporations are making a special fight on Home Rule."¹³

The endorsement of candidates favorable to labor and the importance of the labor vote in the election of local, state, and national officers is too well-known to require detailed comment. The direct relation between this practice and the electric light and power industry is, perhaps, not so generally realized. Frank L. Smith was nominated over Senator William B. McKinley in the 1926 Illinois primary election, partially, at least, because of the labor vote. Much of labor's opposition to McKinley was based upon the fact that the Illinois Power and Light Corporation, of which he was the head, was known as a company which refused to employ union labor, wherever possible.¹⁴ Smith, moreover, was characterized as "the best chairman the Illinois Commerce Commission ever had in his dealings with organized labor and we can expect to receive a square deal from him when he takes his seat in the Senate."¹⁵

The direct benefit which union electrical workers hoped to receive through the election of a favorable governor is indicated by the following statement from a member of a California local

¹³*Electrical Worker*, August, 1912, p. 507.

¹⁴After commenting upon the fact that the Illinois Power and Light Company discharged employees who joined the union, a member of Local No. 184, of Galesburg, commented, "Frank L. Smith was nominated for U. S. Senator over Illinois Power McKinley by over 150,000 majority. Some protest, I mean!" A. W. Maze—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, June, 1926, p. 283.

¹⁵A. W. Maze—*Ibid.*, February, 1927, p. 83.

Ex-Governor Richardson appointed men and women on the different state boards that were inclined to favor corporation rule and non-union employers. Governor Young is for all the people and friendly to organized labor. The railroad commission which has control over and regulates all public service corporations will soon be rid of members who have favored corporation rule.¹⁶

In evaluating the influence of the Brotherhood upon general questions involving public opinion, care must be used not to overestimate the importance of this influence, as oftentimes the union has merely been one of several other labor groups and civic organizations which have worked for or against franchises, rate increases, and various other matters involving both the electric light and power industry and the public. Enough cases have been cited, nevertheless, to show that local unions of the Brotherhood have served as valuable allies or dangerous enemies to the individual companies in their attempts to secure private advantages from the public. Owing to the fact that most companies have, whenever possible, refused to recognize the unions, the latter have generally worked against the companies rather than for them.

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP

The union activities described above fade into insignificance, both as to the extent of the activities and the importance of the questions dealt with, when compared with public ownership propaganda.

Since the beginning of the Brotherhood, there has been a tendency on the part of its members to favor some form of public ownership. The early activities in favor of publicly owned light plants were apparently based on the assumption that the passage of public ownership ordinances would entail the construction or reconstruction of plants and distribution systems and thus create more work for members of the union.¹⁷ The opportunistic nature of the early desire for public ownership is shown by the fact

¹⁶*Ibid.*, December, 1927, p. 653.

¹⁷Local No 75, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, expressed this idea as follows: "Our municipal lighting bill has passed the Common Council and is in the hands of a good, staunch man on its way to Lansing. We might as well say it has passed, as Governor Pingree is the working man's friend and knows it will make work for the boys." *Electrical Worker*, February, 1897, p. 14.

that the same argument was used for the sale of existing municipal plants to private companies¹⁸ Public ownership was in no way recognized as a policy of the Brotherhood

As the industry and the union grew, the latter began to realize that there were other reasons of a somewhat broader nature than the old "make-work" argument why union electrical workers should work for the public ownership of electric light and power companies As consumers, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, as well as other trade unionists, have favored municipal ownership of electric and other utilities on the assumption that public ownership brought lower rates Much publicity has been given to the low rates in the Ontario Hydro-Electric System and in Seattle, Tacoma, Cleveland, and other cities which own electric light systems, in the official journal of the Brotherhood, especially in recent years That the officers of the I B E W, however, do not place much faith in the power of an argument which appeals to unionists only in their capacity as consumers is indicated by the following expansion of the "low-rate" argument by President Noonan, in discussing the advantages of public ownership "Cheap power means greater use of power, which in turn means more installation to do and more of the installed work to maintain"¹⁹

There are two reasons why this study need not attempt to prove or disprove the validity of the argument that public ownership results in lower rates of service In the first place, such an attempt would unduly prolong this discussion, as it would involve a thorough study of the question of public ownership in all its ramifications There is no aspect of the controversy over public ownership concerning which there is less unanimity of opinion than the net effect of public ownership upon the consumer Secondly, this argument alone would scarcely be sufficient to cause

¹⁸"The St Joseph Lt, Heat, and Power Co has made a proposition to purchase the city electric lighting plant The City Council is now considering it I think it would be a good thing It would make electric work good here for awhile, in the way of rebuilding and extending lines, etc, and in operating the plant would employ just about the same number of men as at present" W L Snodgrass, Local No 40—*Ibid*, March, 1897, p 11

¹⁹J P Noonan—*Report of Officers, I B E W*, 1923, p 7

a body of producers such as the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers to engage in a vigorous campaign for public ownership

The chief reason which has been used by members of the I B E W to justify its participation in public ownership agitation is that public ownership tends to better the condition of the electrical worker through securing recognition for his union and through enabling that organization to raise wages and improve working conditions

The influence of public ownership upon the wages and working conditions of the electrical worker is so closely related to the agitation of the latter for public ownership of the electric light and power industry that the activities of the I B E W along this line can be understood only in the light of a study of the relation between public ownership and wages and working conditions

1 *Influence of Public Ownership upon Wages and Working Conditions*—No discussion concerning public ownership of electric light and power systems can proceed very far without reference to the Ontario Hydro-Electric System, the municipally-owned plants in Detroit, Cleveland, Seattle, and Los Angeles, and the Sanitary District of Chicago²⁰ Conclusions concerning the influence of public ownership upon wages and working conditions, consequently, must be based upon a study which includes the above systems The study undertaken in this chapter is based not only upon the condition of labor in those systems, but also includes the municipal electric plants of Kansas City, Kansas, Springfield, Illinois, and other smaller cities

(a) *Ontario Hydro-Electric System*—Reports concerning working conditions in the publicly-owned Ontario Hydro-Electric properties could scarcely induce unionists to agitate for public ownership Letters from Ontario local unions which have appeared in the *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators* give definite indications that the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has been very weak among the Hydro-Electric

²⁰While the Sanitary District confines its attention to furnishing electricity for street lighting and other city purposes and does not retail current to the public, it is one of the most important municipal enterprises in the country, especially as far as union labor is concerned

employees²¹ The biennial reports of the International Vice-President in charge of Canadian affairs offer nothing to contradict the statements of the members Mention is made of a small number of agreements which were secured after extended negotiations between representatives of the Hydro-Electric Commission and the union officials²² These reports, for the most part, however, reflected the weakness of the I B E W in the Hydro-Electric system

One reason for this weakness was the activity of a dual union known as the "Canadian Electrical Trades Union," which was organized in Toronto in 1920 and did not go out of existence until 1925²³ International Vice-President Evans, in an interview with the writer, attributed much of the weakness of the Brotherhood in Ontario to the nature of the workers He asserted that French Canadians are inclined to be lazy and easy-going, are poor union workers, and tend to drop out of the union on

²¹"The I B E W is practically without influence here in this greatest of power zones" T C Dealy, Local No 303, St Catharines—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, September, 1924, p 642 "It is regretted that the vast Ontario Hydro-Electric Power enterprise in Ontario is not run with the full cooperation and assistance of organized labor" P Ellsworth, Local No 353, Toronto—*Ibid*, July, 1926, p 960 "The H E P seems to have plenty of work, though the conditions are surely rotten" D L Newton, Local No 120, London—*Ibid*, July, 1926, p 335 "This is a government-controlled system in this locality and it is not organized We had in our local two members working for the Windsor Hydro but one left to go back to civilization where he might earn a living wage We are according to our charter a mixed local with one lineman and the rest inside men We have good wages and the best of conditions We are troubled by hydro-rottenness" A Hamilton, Local No 773, Windsor—*Ibid*, November, 1926, p 565

²²The only agreements reported by International Vice-President Ingles between 1917 and 1927 were as follows. Local No 120, of London in 1918 and Local No 897, of Niagara Falls, in 1918 (1919 *Report*, p 204) and Local No 548, of Guelph, in 1926 (1927 *Report*, p 54) Early in 1927, Local No 138 of Hamilton attempted to secure an agreement with the Hydro Commission Failing this, application was made for a Board of Arbitration, under the Canadian Industrial Disputes Act The matter was still unsettled at the time the Vice-President's Report was written in July, 1927 *Report of Officers*, 1927, pp 56, 57, 58

²³E Ingles, International Vice-President—*Ibid*, 1925, p 53 Also 1921 *Report*, p 196

the slightest provocation. Scotch Canadians are slow and deliberate about joining the union and taking action against employers. English Canadians are inclined to be over-aggressive in their relations with their fellow-unionists and employers. The combination of the three types among the Ontario workers is not conducive, according to Mr. Evans, to building up and maintaining strong labor organizations. There is reason to believe, however, that the attitude of the officials of the Ontario Hydro-Electric Commission and the various subsidiary officials have had even more to do with the inability of the union to exert much influence upon working conditions. These officials have shown no more disposition to recognize the union and to grant the demands of local unions than the general run of private employers.²⁴

(b) *Detroit*—Professor Commons, in 1907, made an intensive study of labor conditions in municipal and privately-owned public utilities in Great Britain and the United States, personally visiting all of the plants studied. Speaking of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and its connection with the private and municipal electric enterprises of Detroit, he reported:

It has an organization in the Detroit Electric Company which we use for comparison with the Detroit Municipal Undertaking. The presence of the municipal enterprise, with its eight-hour day and its recognition of the Electrical Workers Union during the past eight years has served as a standard by which this private company has endeavored to guide itself and to put itself in as favorable a position before the public as the municipal undertaking. The company indeed has created a semi-pension position for the president of the Electrical Workers Local Union, giving

"Local No. 120, for instance, reported 'The Hydro-Electric gave us a battle last May. It lasted one week and ended in a tie. The Hydro Commission of the city of London goes on record as being opposed to organized labor. They have repeatedly given money and conditions to non-union men and refused same to union men.' R. McArthur—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, August, 1918, p. 24. A little later, the report came from Local No. 353, of Toronto, that 'the craft in this province has been very unsettled the past month. Local 724, Ottawa, and Local 120, London, had to strike to win their demands and Local 573 is out to enforce better conditions. The big trouble at the falls was just settled at the last moment when the heads of the Hydro Commission were brought to time.' G. W. McCollum—*Ibid.*, June, 1919, p. 579. The 1925 report of Vice-President Vickers attributed poor union conditions in the Niagara District to 'the attitude of the officials of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission, which could not be called very friendly' (p. 50).

him leave of absence to use his influence among aldermen and the working people of the town at times when the council has before it an ordinance for regulation or reduction of rates or services.²⁵

The municipal undertaking has continued to set the standard of wages and working conditions of electrical workers in the privately-owned Detroit Edison Company. There are no records available of improved conditions in the municipal enterprise which have not been accompanied by similarly improved conditions in the Edison Company.²⁶ In the spring of 1926, indeed, wages were increased by the private company from \$1 12½ to \$1 20 per hour for linemen without any trouble and were raised by the city only after prolonged negotiations and political turmoil.²⁷

The strength of the union in the electric light and power industry in Detroit is rather remarkable, in view of the fact that Detroit is known as an "open-shop" city. Its strength in the private company is no doubt due to the fact, as Professor Commons indicated twenty years ago, that the Edison Company does not desire to place itself in an unfavorable light when compared with the municipal undertaking. Union strength in the latter is probably due to the strong political organization which has been built up by the various trade unions, the members of which are employed by the city, with the co-operation of the Detroit Federation of Labor. "A political action committee" made up of twelve representatives of the various labor organi-

²⁵John R. Commons, "Labor and Politics"—*National Civic Federation Report on Municipal and Private Operation of Public Utilities* (1907), Vol. I, Part I, pp. 104-105.

²⁶"A general increase in wages has taken effect in Detroit and vicinity, affecting the Edison Co., Public Light, Police and Fire Alarm. Linemen and Splicers, \$5.28 per day, Meter Installers, \$4.40 per day. *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, July, 1917, p. 737.

"The Detroit Edison, Bell Telephone, and the three City Depts. recently granted their men an increase." W. P. Frost—*Ibid.*, May, 1918, p. 502. "The Edison Co. and the three City Depts. are paying \$6 per day for all journeymen. A 48-hour week prevails." W. P. Frost—*Ibid.*, March, 1919, p. 396. "Wages for linemen and cable splicers working for the Detroit Edison Co., the Public Lighting Commission, and the Detroit Street Ry. are \$1 12 per hour. Our jobs are 99% organized. Detroit is known as an open-shop town, but as far as the outside electrical worker is concerned, the slogan is 'No I.B.E.W. card, no job,' and we are making it stick." W. P. Frost—*Ibid.*, November, 1925, p. 880.

²⁷W. P. Frost—*Ibid.*, May, 1926, pp. 215-216.

zations employed by the city was established in 1920 for the express purpose of electing city officials favorable to organized labor. Approximately \$6,000 was spent by this committee in 1925. The efforts of the committee also resulted in having a section incorporated into the city charter which provides that the city shall not pay less than the highest prevailing wages. Local No. 17 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers has been an influential member of this political action committee.²⁸

Thus, public ownership in Detroit has reacted to the advantage of the union electrical workers not only through raising the wages and improving the working conditions of municipal employees, but also through enhancing union influence in the private company, owing to the desire of that company to maintain as favorable a position before the public as the municipal undertaking.

(c) *Cleveland*—Although the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company, like the Detroit Edison Company, has sometimes followed municipal wage increases with wage increases to its electrical workers, wages in the private company have been consistently lower than in the municipal system and only a small proportion of the Illuminating Company employees have belonged to the union.²⁹ This has been due, in part, to the fact that the Cleveland Municipal Plant has not been especially popular with the public³⁰ and the private company, consequently, has not had to worry about making as favorable a public impression as the municipal plant.

²⁸W. P. Frost—*Ibid.*, May, 1926, p. 216, also, November, 1927, p. 584.

²⁹This is indicated by the following letter from a member of Local No. 39: "We asked for a 30% raise for all men, working at the Mun. Lt. We went over the top. Daily men getting from 80c to \$1.25 raise, making the linemen \$6.25 per. All monthly men, including power house operators, \$25 to \$35 raise. We also have the Illuminating Light Co., which I am sorry to say is open shop, but through a little scheming by the local and the union men on the job and due to the fact that the Municipal is organized, we were able to get 75c a day raise for all men Sept. 1, making linemen \$5.75." H. Derolph—*Ibid.*, October, 1918, p. 120.

³⁰This is indicated by the fact that determined agitation was carried on through the press for the sale of the municipal light plant to the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company in 1924. J. E. Roach, Local No. 39—*Ibid.*, January, 1925, p. 86.

The advantage of municipal employees over the employees of the Illuminating Company, as to union recognition, wages, and working conditions, has been partially obscured by the disadvantages arising through the embroilment of the union in politics. In 1918, for instance, several union employees of the city were discharged for refusing to work for the passage of a bond issue sponsored by the City Administration.³¹ The efforts of the union to secure higher wages have necessitated continual struggles with the administration and with other bodies of municipal workmen. A wage increase granted by the City Council in November, 1924, to all union craftsmen working for the city was held up until May, 1925, through the action of unorganized water department employees, backed by citizens opposed to organized labor, in carrying the fight into the courts.³² As a member of the local recently expressed it, "You never can tell what will happen on these municipal jobs."³³

(d) *Seattle*—Municipal ownership in Seattle, as in Detroit, seems to have reacted to the advantage of the union electrical workers in the competing private company. Conditions have apparently been as favorable in the Puget Sound Power and Light

³¹"A movement was started in this city by the Administration in power last October and participated in by some of our members, whose views were in harmony with theirs on the subject of raising \$2,500,000.00, covering a deficit in the appropriation by the Council to maintain the city's expenses. This deficit as explained by them has been growing for the last six or seven years and the city has borrowed to the limit on short time notes. Our Mayor thought it was not getting sufficient support, so employees of the Dept. of Light and Heat were assembled at a meeting and told their work was laid out for them. They were given literature and instructed to work for the issue in their precincts. It appears some followed instructions while others did not. At any rate the Bond Issue carried and the Ward Captains turned in their reports covering the activities of the workers in each precinct. Not long afterward, letters were received by some of these workers asking for their resignations for their alleged inactivity in the matter. The local appointed a committee to call upon the Director of Light and Heat and demand that all members dismissed on those charges be reinstated with pay. The Director politely informed the committee that he refused to concur in our demands." *Ibid.*, March, 1919, p. 399. All workers except one eventually were reinstated. *Ibid.*, April, 1919, p. 453.

³²J. E. Roach—*Ibid.*, December, 1924, p. 25, June, 1925, p. 501.

³³J. F. Masterson—*Ibid.*, November, 1927, p. 586.

Company as in the municipal power enterprise. Early in 1925, indeed, it was reported that "the private company job is pretty well organized, but the city job has not been such a success."⁸⁴ Conditions in both undertakings are superior to any the writer has encountered except those in Detroit, as linemen receive \$9.00 per day of eight hours.⁸⁵

(e) *Los Angeles*—Public ownership in Los Angeles has clearly reacted to the advantage of the union electrical workers. Although satisfactory agreements have been reached, at times, only after prolonged conferences between officials of the Bureau of Power and Light and representatives of Local No. 18,⁸⁶ the union has been recognized by the municipal authorities almost from the time of the entrance of the City into the light and power business. It has never been recognized to any extent by the Los Angeles Gas and Electric Company and the Southern California Edison Company, the two privately-owned concerns which operate in and around the city.⁸⁷

(f) *Chicago Sanitary District*—The strength of the linemen's local in Chicago has always been due to the employment of its members by the officials of the Sanitary District. Except for a short time after the Commonwealth Edison Strike in 1916,⁸⁸ the union has been virtually without influence in the private electric light and power companies of Chicago. This was noted by Professor Commons in 1907.⁸⁹ It has been true in recent years, as well.

The local has had a more or less constant struggle, however, to secure and maintain favorable working conditions. Electrical

⁸⁴J. V. McDonald, Local No. 944—*Ibid.*, February, 1925, p. 201.

⁸⁵H. O. Buell, Local No. 77 (formerly No. 944)—*Ibid.*, May, 1927, p. 252.

⁸⁶Vice-President Vickers reported that he attended conferences between these parties on an average of twice each month from December, 1921, to August, 1922, before an understanding was reached. *Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1923, p. 77.

⁸⁷See *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, August, 1918, p. 22, August, 1919, p. 24, March, 1925, p. 243, February, 1926, p. 72, September, 1927, p. 471.

⁸⁸See pp. 74, 75, and 76.

⁸⁹John R. Commons, "Labor and Politics"—*National Civic Federation Report on Municipal and Private Ownership* (1907), Vol. I, Part I, p. 105.

workers employed by the Sanitary District were idle for four days in 1916 on a strike for higher wages⁴⁰ In 1919, a satisfactory agreement was reached only after two weeks of arbitration⁴¹ A few months later, a number of troublemen and patrolmen were laid off and their jobs filled with political appointees They were reinstated only after a strike which kept the streets dark for three hours⁴² In 1921 "some sections of Chicago were dark all the night of July 12 as a result of the strike of city electrical workers" for higher wages It was largely a strike of sub-station operators "It was not until the Chief of Police threatened the strikers and their leaders with indictments for manslaughter and murder if any crimes or accidents resulted from the lightless streets that the strikers capitulated"⁴³

In spite of these difficulties, however, practically all electrical workers employed by the Sanitary District are members of the union A signed agreement between Local No 9 and the District is in force⁴⁴ Hence, the only possible conclusion is that public ownership has benefited the union electrical workers in Chicago

(g) *Smaller Cities*—The case for municipal ownership in smaller cities, from the point of view of union electrical workers, is clear, both from the fact that working conditions in the municipal companies have tended to be better than in private concerns and because these municipal conditions have tended to react to the advantage of privately employed workers

For instance, the Springfield Gas and Electric Company, of Springfield, Illinois, in 1917, tended to follow the standard set by the municipal electric establishment⁴⁵ By February, 1927, however, the policy of the private company, then known as the

⁴⁰*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, September, 1916, p 103

⁴¹*Ibid*, September, 1919, p 80

⁴²*Ibid*, March, 1920, p 445

⁴³*Electrical World*, Vol 78, No 3, July 16, 1921, p 135

⁴⁴At least such an agreement was in force January 1, 1927 *American Federation of Labor News Letter*, January 1, 1927, Vol 16, No 42 There is no reason for believing that it is no longer in force

⁴⁵"The Springfield Gas and Electric Co granted their men an increase and they are now to receive \$4.05 for 9 hrs, 4 ways and same overtime, which is equally as good as the city's" D A White—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, May, 1917, p. 632

Illinois Power Company, had changed, as employees were discharged for joining the union. The municipal undertaking still worked under a "closed-shop" agreement with Local No. 193.⁴⁶

A similar development was reported by Local No. 53. In 1920, both the Kansas City (Missouri) Power and Light Company and the Kansas City (Kansas) Municipal Light and Power Department employed mostly union men and paid \$6.60 per day of eight hours to linemen.⁴⁷ In October, 1927, the private company employed practically no union men and paid \$6.60 per day, according to union reports, while the municipal plant employed union men almost exclusively and paid \$8.00 per day.⁴⁸

Other illustrations could be given to show the relationship between public ownership and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. They merely substantiate the tendencies pointed out in the above cases, however.⁴⁹

"F. C. Huse—*Ibid.*, February, 1927, p. 84. That maintaining favorable conditions in the municipal plant had its difficulties is indicated by this statement: "Some may think that to effect an agreement, a City Council would be the easiest place. But we would sooner start any other place." Huse—*Ibid.*, February, 1924, p. 162.

"*Ibid.*, March, 1920, p. 586, June, 1920, p. 649.

"J. Cloughley—*Ibid.*, October, 1927, p. 530.

"For instance, Local No. 232 reported recently that most of its members were employed by the Electrical Department of Kaukauna, Wisconsin. I. Dogot—*Ibid.*, March, 1927, p. 144. Few, if any, union men are employed by private central stations in the vicinity. Since the Pasadena Municipal Light and Power plant began operation in 1907, union workers have been employed under favorable conditions. W. R. Lennox, Local No. 418—*Ibid.*, January, 1927, p. 25. The only exception is found in the following statement by a member of Local No. 271, of Wichita, Kansas: "I don't like the way this magazine is all the time hollering for public ownership of utilities. Some of the crummiest jobs I was ever on were municipal light and power jobs that could be juggled around both as to wages and personnel by some petty politician. I went on an Electric Bond and Share Co. job once that was wide open and we lined up 100% and had it paying standard wages in a short time without any difficulty whatever."

"If ever a bunch of men were treated fair, we were." T. H. Laisure—*Ibid.*, November, 1926, p. 558. The following answer was given by a Los Angeles unionist: "I want to say a few words to the scribe of Local No. 271."

"I don't get his drift when he talks against public ownership. The best paid jobs today for outside electrical workers are municipal jobs, such as those in Detroit, Chicago, Seattle, Tacoma, and in our own system here." J. E. Horne, Local No. 18—*Ibid.*, January, 1927, p. 27.

Several conclusions may be derived from the above data. In the first place, municipal ownership tends to react to the advantage of union electrical workers in two ways (1) municipal light and power enterprises are more inclined to employ union electrical workers and to pay higher wages than private companies, (2) there is a tendency upon the part of privately owned companies, which compete with municipal electric plants, to maintain as favorable working conditions as the latter, in order to secure the support or, at least, allay the active opposition of organized labor⁶⁰ Secondly, the advantages of municipal ownership to union members have been counteracted, to some extent, by political troubles Finally, the outstanding experiment of public ownership by a governmental body larger than a municipality—the Ontario Hydro-Electric System—has in no way reacted to the advantage of union electrical workers This has been due, partly, to local conditions It seems reasonable to believe, however, that a more important reason for the difference in the effects which municipal ownership and public ownership have had upon union strength is that municipal officials in the United States feel the political pressure exerted by organized labor more than do the members of the Hydro-Electric Commission and its subsidiary officials

2 *Union Propaganda for Public Ownership*—Prior to the general decline in union influence in the electric light and power industry, which, as noted in Chapter II, began with the depression of 1920, public ownership agitation was confined almost entirely to agitation for municipal ownership by local unions. The International officers of the Brotherhood, took practically no part in this type of activity, other than to call attention occasionally to the fact that one of the twenty planks in the platform of the American Federation of Labor urged municipal ownership of all public utilities, and to point out rather mildly some advantages of public ownership⁶¹

⁶⁰The failure of private companies operating in and around Los Angeles to maintain conditions comparable to those in the municipal undertaking has been an important reason for the continued agitation of Local No 18 for the extension of the municipal system See p 165

⁶¹The following editorial statement is an example "The ownership of public utilities by municipalities, where records are available, shows a

Local unions have frequently participated in successful municipal ownership campaigns. In 1903, for instance, the members of Local No. 39 assisted in the campaign which resulted in the establishment of a municipal electric power system in Cleveland.⁵² Members of the linemen's local of Seattle, in 1906, had a part in the successful campaign for a municipal power plant.⁵³ In these and many other instances which could be cited, the influence of the local union was probably no more important than that of numerous other labor bodies and of various civic associations. The evidence indicates that the outside electrical workers' local in Los Angeles, however, was the leader in the successful movement for municipal ownership in that city and for the extension of municipal ownership after it was once established. From 1905, when the idea of municipal power and light was first conceived, down to 1926, when the voters of the city authorized a bond issue of \$11,000,000 to purchase the distributing system of the Southern California Edison Company in the various communities which had been recently annexed to Los Angeles, the members of the union worked vigorously for the establishment and extension of municipal ownership.⁵⁴

cheapening of the cost of production, together with a surplus for the municipalities controlling such utilities." *Electrical Worker*, July, 1911, p. 318.

⁵²R. Murphy—*Ibid.*, September, 1903, p. 53.

⁵³W. Higgins, Local No. 77—*Ibid.*, January, 1906, p. 33.

⁵⁴"This article is written to point out to the readers . . . what may be accomplished by concentrating their efforts and taking advantage of opportunities as they arise. We, of Local No. 18, formerly known as Local No. 61, not only claim credit, but are credited for being responsible for the city's owning and controlling the largest municipally-owned electrical system in the world. Los Angeles first conceived the idea of municipal power and light when plans for the Owens River Aqueduct were brought before the public in 1905. During the campaign to raise money to build the aqueduct, the local's best orators were sent to speak before several improvement associations, the Chamber of Commerce and all organized labor locals in the city. We spoke from soap boxes in the streets. About this time (1914) a group of public spirited citizens started agitating for municipal ownership. Our organization was blessed with some good orators and members of far-seeing ability. We appointed a committee of our members to draw up resolutions asking the State Railway Commission . . . to appraise that portion of the Southern California Edison Co. that was within the city limits. By dint of hard

Public ownership agitation was almost entirely absent during the period of war influence, when the power of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in the central station industry was great. The decline in union influence during the post-war period of depression brought about a recrudescence of public ownership activity. It was of a somewhat different nature than the previous attempts to substitute public for private ownership of central stations. In the first place, it was distinctly a movement for public ownership of the electric light and power industry, particularly of water power developments, rather than for public utilities in general. Secondly, the emphasis was placed upon some form of state or national ownership rather than municipal ownership. Finally, propaganda was carried on as an activity of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers rather than as a local union activity.

The first instance of this new type of public ownership agitation was the support given by the newly-organized District Council of California, including all of the local unions of the Brotherhood in the State, under the direction of International Vice-President Vickers, to the California Water and Power Act in 1922.⁵⁷ The defeat of the measure by popular vote only caused the Council to work more strenuously for its passage in 1924. It "conducted an intensive campaign of information in behalf of the State Water and Power Act, sending out to the voters of the State more than 70,000 letters, giving reliable data on public ownership of water and power utilities."⁵⁸ Nothing daunted by a second defeat, electrical workers agitated for its passage in

work, the city council which was very favorable to us managed to bring this about. The city's distributing system was started in 1916, but it was 1922 before they purchased the S. C. Co.'s property, as the matter was in the courts. Recent great increases in population necessitated expansion in the system." These expansions were financed by bond issues in 1924 and 1926. J. E. Horne—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, November, 1926, p. 537.

⁵⁸"It is generally conceded that the D. C. made a creditable showing in the political campaign of 1922 in California when the voters of the State had before them what was known as the 'California Water and Power Act' which provided for the State to acquire water power sites and to generate and distribute light, power and water throughout the State." T. C. Vickers—*Report of Officers, I. B. E. W.*, 1923, p. 78.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 1925, p. 83.

1926 Though it was again defeated,⁵⁷ it is evident that the persistent attempts of the Brotherhood in favor of the measure have constituted a real source of danger to the private power interests of the State

The first official consideration of this new type of public ownership is found in the 1923 Report of International President Noonan. He discussed the question in considerable detail and concluded "For the good of all people in general and the Electrical Workers in particular, I recommend that we, as an organization, join with the Public Ownership League of America, to promote public ownership of power plants in general."⁵⁸

The years 1924, 1925, and 1926 were marked by vigorous activity on the part of the Brotherhood. As an indication of the extent to which the International officers interested themselves in building up sentiment among the members in favor of public ownership during these years, thirteen articles and editorials favoring public ownership appeared in the 1924 issues of the official journal, twenty-six such articles appeared during 1925, and eighteen were published in 1926.⁵⁹ Some were of a general nature.⁶⁰ The majority of them, however, referred to the specific projects before the public, particularly Muscle Shoals, Boulder Dam, the Hetch-Hetchy project in California, and the Conowingo project in Maryland.⁶¹ The Giant Power Institute, which was

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 1927, p. 85

⁵⁸J. P. Noonan—*Op cit.*, 1923, p. 8

⁵⁹These figures do not include references to public ownership in the letters of local unions, nor do they include the numerous small items relating to low electric rates in publicly owned systems.

⁶⁰One issue urged members to fill out the following questionnaire and return it to the International office:

- "1. Is there any local interest in your community in development of water power for public use?
2. Are there any organizations, other than the I B E W, directly interested in arousing public interest in public ownership of water power resources?
3. Is there any movement or sentiment for public ownership of the power plants?
4. Is there any available water power for new development?"—

Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators, April, 1925, p. 311

⁶¹"The I B E W is in the power fight to stay. It is prepared to oppose the power trust with its company union policy on both the political and

conducted at Brookwood Labor College during the summer of 1926 under the auspices of the International officers of the Brotherhood, was another medium for spreading public ownership propaganda among the members⁶²

The efforts of the Brotherhood during these years were especially directed toward preventing the lease or sale of the Muscle Shoals project in Alabama, which had been developed by the United States Government, to private power companies⁶³ The Alabama Power Company, the chief bidder, incidentally, has never been very friendly toward the Brotherhood⁶⁴ The Muscle Shoals Commission, which had been appointed by the Government to make recommendations for the solution of the problem, requested suggestions from the American Federation of Labor as to labor's viewpoint. President Green passed this request on to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers as the union most directly concerned. President Noonan, of the latter body, prepared a statement describing the reasons for labor's opposition to the granting of Muscle Shoals to private companies. President Green not only remitted this statement to the Commission but also published it in the *American Federationist*, the official journal of the American Federation of Labor⁶⁵ It is seen from this that the attitude of the Electrical Workers has exercised an important influence upon the attitude of the

industrial fields. It has already spent time and money in both its own and the public's interest in the Muscle Shoals fight, in the Conowingo battle, and in the long-drawn-out controversies on Boulder Dam and Hetch-Hetchy." J P Noonan—*Ibid*, August, 1926, p. 372

⁶²See p. 141

⁶³The following appeal appeared in April, 1926 "DON'T STOP WORKING! Muscle Shoals has not yet been given away. Protests to Washington will still have influence and will have until Congress closes. This fight to retain Muscle Shoals has been Electrical Workers'! Let's finish the fight!"—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, April, 1926, p. 156

⁶⁴Editorial—*Ibid*, April, 1926, p. 154

⁶⁵J P Noonan—*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1925, pp. 25-28. Also *American Federationist*, Vol. 32, No. 7, July, 1925, pp. 533-537. Mr. Noonan, also a member of the Executive Council of the A F of L (1925 *Report*, p. 29), is the representative of labor on the St. Lawrence Commission which is investigating the development of the river for commercial and power purposes (1925 *Report*, p. 24).

larger body of organized labor concerning Muscle Shoals and public ownership in general

Vigorous agitation has been carried on in favor of the Johnson-Swing Bill, which calls for the development by the federal government of a power site on the Colorado River at Boulder Canyon⁶⁶ That the "make-work" possibilities of this project were prominent in the minds of electrical workers residing in the territory to be benefited by it is indicated by the statement of a Los Angeles unionist that "it will mean thousands of miles of transmission lines of all descriptions, steel towers and pole lines, it will mean work for years"⁶⁷

Although the Hetch-Hetchy project involves the sale of natural resources of the nation to a private company⁶⁸ and, as such, has been strongly opposed by the Brotherhood and other bodies of public ownership advocates, it is primarily a local matter We find this statement in the *Report of Officers* for 1923

Several years ago the City of San Francisco, California, through a Congressional Grant acquired water rights to the Hetch-Hetchy Basin for the purpose of bringing water from the mountains to supply San Francisco and the cities tributary to their lines This basin is located in the Sierra-Nevada Mountains approximately 200 miles east of San Francisco and is generally referred to as the Hetch-Hetchy project A survey of the proposition revealed that there were also a number of valuable water power sites The City has voted many millions of dollars in bonds for the development of this power, and now that the work has progressed to the point where the Moccasin Creek Power House will soon be ready to generate power, we find that the Engineer in charge has recommended to the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco that they sell whatever power is generated by this project

⁶⁶The following appeal appeared in the official journal "Let your congressional representative know that you are in favor of the proposition and urge his support of the Johnson-Swing Bill" Editorial, *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, March, 1924, p. 209

⁶⁷J. E. Horne, Local No. 18—*Ibid.*, December, 1924, p. 83

⁶⁸It should be noted that the City contemplated the public distribution of this energy and for that purpose instituted condemnation proceedings before the Railroad Commission to acquire the local distribution systems of the Pacific Gas and Electric and Great Western Power Companies See W. J. Herrman—"The San Francisco Condemnation Cases, etc"—*Journal of Land Economics and Public Utilities*, Vol. V, No. 1, February, 1929, pp. 8-18

to the Pacific Gas and Electric Co at wholesale. As soon as this report was made public, Local No 151, of San Francisco, immediately enlisted the aid of the Central Labor Council of San Francisco and the campaign was launched by resolutions from the various labor unions and civic bodies to prevail upon the Supervisors to provide ways and means for the City and County of San Francisco to distribute the current generated by this project to the consumers direct in order that the project would not only be self sustaining but would in that manner provide sufficient revenue to pay off all bonds and other indebtedness⁶⁶

In spite of these protests, the Board of Supervisors, on June 29, 1925, by a vote of eleven to seven, authorized the Board of Public Works to contract with the Pacific Gas and Electric Company for temporary distribution of Hetch-Hetchy power. In November, however, "by electing nine Supervisors of the minority group ticket San Francisco voters apparently expressed disapproval of the sale of hydro-electric power. This group in its platform opposed the contract recently entered into between the city and the Pacific Gas and Electric Company and favored acquisition of a municipally owned distribution system."⁶⁷ Local No 151, of the I B E W, played a prominent part in defeating the candidates who had voted in favor of the contract. The president of the local union was elected as one of the new members of the Board of Supervisors.⁶⁸ Early in 1926, the new Board authorized city engineers to prepare for the construction of a transmission line.⁶⁹ A bond issue for the purpose of financing this transmission line failed, in spite of the activities of advocates of the municipal system, including Local No 151 and other labor bodies, to secure the necessary two-thirds majority at the November election of 1927. In reporting this, however, a member of the union commented that "we will try again before long and keep it up until we do get it over."⁷⁰ It is probable that the strenuous opposition of the International Brotherhood, and particularly the opposition of Local No 151, to the sale of the municipal power to the Pacific Gas and Electric

⁶⁶T. C. Vickers—*Report of Officers, I B E W*, 1923, p. 83.

⁶⁷*Electrical World*, Vol 86, No 1, July 4, 1925, p. 27, No 20, November 14, 1925, p. 1017.

⁶⁸*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, December, 1925, p. 926.

⁶⁹*Electrical World*, Vol 87, No 16, April 10, 1926, p. 775.

⁷⁰C. D. Mull, Local No 151—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, December, 1927, p. 643.

Company has been due, in a very large measure, to the fact that the Company has refused to deal with the Brotherhood since 1921.⁷⁴

The interest of the Brotherhood in the Conowingo project was of a more general nature. The Conowingo water-power site is within the boundaries of the State of Maryland. The difficulty arose over the attempt of the Susquehanna Power Company, controlled by the same interests which own the Philadelphia Electric Company, to develop the power and distribute it in Philadelphia. The Baltimore Federation of Labor protested to Governor Ritchie, asking him to use his influence to prevent the Maryland Public Utilities Commission from approving the development by the Philadelphia interests until the feasibility of the development of the power as a state-owned project could be investigated. These efforts met with failure, however, as by the summer of 1926 the State Commissions of both Pennsylvania and Maryland and the Federal Power Commission had approved the development of the Conowingo site by the Susquehanna Power Company and had approved the issuance of securities to finance the project.⁷⁵

As indicated above, these four projects—Muscle Shoals, Boulder Dam, Hetch-Hetchy, and Conowingo—form the special objects of the Brotherhood's attack on private ownership of electric light and power, particularly the private development of water-power sites. That this attitude was a direct result of the Brotherhood's loss of influence in the central station industry is indicated by the following editorial in the *Journal*:

So we see emerging out of the welter of the last five years an industry transformed. The small electric station is being obliterated. The regional monopoly has arrived, with lines of tribute and adherence to a nation-wide potential monopoly through connections with the Electric Bond and Share Company. This pooling of power should "nationalize" the electrical industry, but we see little or no disposition on the part of the "Electrical Trust" to "nationalize" trade agreements thru the general recognition of labor unions and of the principles of collective bargaining. The hope-

⁷⁴T. C. Vickers—*Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1923, p. 81.

⁷⁵F. J. Meeds, Local No. 28 (Baltimore)—*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, March, 1925, p. 246; S. C. Hatton, Local No. 28—*Ibid.*, August, 1926, p. 385. *Report of Executive Secretary, Federal Power Commission*, Project No. 405, "Conowingo Project."

ful sign is that the IBEW sees where it is going. It has no illusions about the future. The union is prepared to see its public ownership program victorious or defeated. And it is prepared to take its place in the New Era. It expects to see the electrical industry won for unionism.¹⁶

It has been noted that the Brotherhood agitated vigorously for public ownership in 1924, 1925, and 1926 through the official journal. Numerous references have also been made to strong statements in favor of public ownership in the 1923 and 1925 Reports of the International President. In view of these facts and also the fact that public ownership activity, in general, increased during 1927,¹⁷ it is rather puzzling to discover that, throughout the year, no official pronouncement in favor of public ownership appeared in the *Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators* and that the 1927 Report of the President ignores the subject. This might be attributed to the fact that the press of other matters crowded the subject out of the official publications of the Brotherhood and no significance might be attached to it had it not been for two other developments during the year.

In the first place, the National Electric Light Association, for the first time in its history, granted recognition to organized labor in that it invited President Green of the American Federation of Labor to speak to the 1927 Convention of the Association. His speech implied opposition to public ownership or, rather, implied that labor would oppose government ownership as long as it could have its just rights under private ownership.¹⁸ It

¹⁶*Journal of Electrical Workers and Operators*, January, 1926, p. 3.

¹⁷In speaking of the tone of the meetings of utility associations during the year, the *Electrical World* points out that "this year the emphasis has changed. Because of the recrudescence of activity among advocates of the ownership of public utilities by government, because of pending federal investigations and widely published theories of federal control, the industry has naturally been thrown to some extent on the defensive, and the main theme at many meetings has been the championship of private utilities regulated by the state." Vol. 90, No. 20, November 12, 1927, p. 975.

¹⁸"Both employers and employees have been free from the domination of autocratic control and governmental dictation such as prevails in some of the other lands. This condition creates a feeling of security and assurance and encourages private initiative and enterprise. Industrial freedom is as essential to human happiness and human welfare as political freedom. Let us hope that our nation will always remain free from governmental, autocratic and dictatorial control of its industries and

also urged the establishment of a "happy reciprocal relationship" between employers and workers of the industry

Secondly, President Noonan, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, as described in Chapter II,⁷⁹ began negotiations with leaders in the power industry for a national understanding which would entail a more general recognition of the union in the industry. In asking the 1927 Convention of the Brotherhood for authority to negotiate with employers with this end in view, he commented at length upon the union's lack of strength in the industry, but made no mention of public ownership as a possible remedy for this lack of strength, as he had done in previous years.

It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the Brotherhood has abandoned its public ownership program, temporarily, at least, and substituted for it the attempt to arrive at an understanding with the power industry which would embody recognition of the union and co-operation between labor and management. This is by no means an admission of the lack of success of this program in bettering the condition of the electrical worker in the industry. It is, on the other hand, due to the fact that the leaders in the central station industry have indicated that they realize what a strong enemy or ally organized labor can be to a public utility industry, and that they have implied, particularly by inviting the highest official of the American Federation of Labor to be their honored guest, that they are willing to come to some understanding with organized labor. The use of the method of propaganda by the International Brotherhood of Elec-

workers. Employees must be accorded the privilege of exercising their rights, as guaranteed to free, independent American citizens. It is my opinion that co-operation, understanding and a spirit of mutual interest can be exemplified in the electric power industry to as great or even greater degree than any other industry. Many problems of public character arise which seriously affect the economic interests of all concerned and the social interests of the great mass of working people. I sincerely hope that the wage earners and the employers and the management associated with the electric light and power industry will establish a happy reciprocal relationship based upon a recognition of their common interest and common welfare." William Green, "Electric Power and the Working Man"—*N E L A Bulletin*, Vol. XIV, No. 7, July, 1927, pp. 438-440.

⁷⁹See p. 98.

trical Workers has apparently accomplished more toward strengthening the position of the union in the industry than the economic method described in Chapter II

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

As independent electric light and power companies were fused into consolidated systems, the economic strength of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the most representative trade union in the power industry, declined. This decline was due in part to the increase in the relative bargaining power of central station employers and in part to the expansion of the company union movement and welfare schemes designed to develop the loyalty of workers to their employers, which consolidation in the industry made possible. It is possible that the benefit and welfare features, which have been developed by the Brotherhood on such an elaborate scale since 1921, have retarded this decline in economic influence. It is a fact, nevertheless, that, except in a few sections of the country, where local conditions, particularly the presence of a competing municipal plant, have strengthened unionism in the industry, central station electrical workers are not effectively organized and very few concessions have been secured through union influence since the end of the period of prosperity in 1920.

Sensing this, the International officers turned to the method of propaganda, which had been used by local unions with some degree of success for many years, in the attempt to bolster up the economic strength of the union. Their activities along this line took the form of vigorous agitation for public ownership of electric light and power utilities, particularly of hydro-electric developments. Because it has a closer relation to the industry than any other labor organization and also because it is one of the largest trade unions in the country,¹ owing to its strength in the electrical construction industry, the Brotherhood was able

¹The *Handbook of American Trade Unions* of 1926 showed the I B E W to be the third largest organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. It was exceeded only by the United Mine Workers and the International Union of Carpenters and Joiners. See *Handbook of American Trade Unions*, October, 1926, Bulletin No. 420, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, pp. 21, 25, 101.

to influence the American Federation of Labor to take a stand in favor of public ownership

In 1927, however, organized labor and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers apparently abandoned, for a time, at least, their public ownership program. President Green of the American Federation of Labor, in a speech before the 1927 Convention of the National Electric Light Association, implied that organized labor would not favor public ownership of the electrical industry if it could be given its just rights under private ownership. The official publications of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, which constituted the chief medium for the union's public ownership agitation during 1924, 1925, and 1926, contained scarcely any mention of the subject. This abandonment of the method of propaganda would seem to testify to the success rather than the failure of that method, however. The action of the National Electric Light Association in extending an invitation to President Green constituted the first act of the industry as a whole which could in any way be construed as a recognition of organized labor. It is difficult to think of it any other way than as a bid by the leaders in the industry for the support of organized labor and an indication that they are willing to grant labor a greater degree of recognition in the future than they have in the past. President Noonan of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers apparently construed the N. E. L. A. action in this manner. Shortly after the N. E. L. A. Convention, he asked and received authority from the Convention of the Brotherhood to negotiate with leaders in the central station industry for a declaration of principles providing for the recognition of the union, increased emphasis upon co-operation and efficiency, and the virtual outlawry of strikes.

Though predictions are always dangerous, it is probable that some form of national understanding will be reached between central station employers and the Brotherhood which will open the way for agreements between local employers and unions. It is unlikely, however, that such an understanding will apply to all of the workers who are now considered by the Brotherhood as being within its jurisdiction.

In the first place, the organization is a trade union which is composed very largely of linemen and inside wiremen. The

attempt to include several other distinct trades, such as that of the meter-tester and the sub-station operator, in the same category with linemen, the largest class of workers in the central station industry, has never been very successful. The only possible way in which these various trades could be successfully handled by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers would be to reorganize it on the basis of an industrial union. Such a reorganization would result in a separation from the inside wiremen, most of whom are building tradesmen, and would thus deprive central station electrical workers of the benefits received through direct affiliation with the building trades, which are completely unionized in many localities. Members of the International Brotherhood, moreover, have always been traditionally opposed to industrial unionism.

In the second place, the importance of developing a "family spirit" on the part of operating employees, particularly those who have direct contact with the consuming public, makes employers unwilling to permit outside interference in matters concerning these workers. Hence it is reasonable to believe that employers would be opposed to their unionization.

The tendency is undoubtedly in the direction of a clearer differentiation between the operating "family" of the central station employer and that type of labor which is not so closely related to the rendering of service to consumers. That is, the "family" is steadily being narrowed to include only managerial, clerical and semi-clerical, and exclusively operating employees, such as metermen, troublemen, and sub-station operators as well as those production employees who are nominally under the jurisdiction of the Engineers' and Firemen's unions. It seems logical to believe that these types of employees will become even more predominantly non-union in the future than they are at present. The large body of workers engaged in the construction, reconstruction, and maintenance of transmission and distribution systems, made up mostly of linemen and cablesplacers, are more and more finding themselves outside the "family circle" and are being employed by independent contractors or by construction companies controlled by the power companies. They are steadily assuming the nature of building-tradesmen, working on a temporary job basis rather than a permanent annual basis. It is the

latter type of workers which will become more unionized than it has been in the past if the above-mentioned national understanding is entered into

This understanding would be advantageous to the union in that it would make it easier to organize that type of central station employees upon which the organization has always centered most of its organizing efforts. It would be advantageous to the industry, most of all, because it would transform a large section of the citizenry which possesses a considerable degree of solidarity—organized labor, in general—from a group of advocates of public ownership and opponents of the utility companies into allies, or, at least, into people who would not be actively antagonistic to the industry. In so far as such an understanding would result in the greater unionization of linemen, it might, moreover, make it possible for companies to cut down much of the expense of insurance plans, pensions, etc., as the International Brotherhood has already developed beneficial features of this type and will undoubtedly develop them still further as its membership grows. It may be argued that this increased recognition of the union will ultimately react to the disadvantage of the industry in that the union may grow so strong that it will attempt to assume control of the industry either through voting in public ownership or developing some form of syndicalist control. Anyone familiar with the utterances of these unionists as well as other members of the American Federation of Labor, however, realizes how strongly opposed most of them are to all forms of radicalism. They have favored public ownership of the electric light and power industry as opportunists, not as idealists. They have seen it as a method of bettering working conditions and, to some extent, reducing the cost of living. If they are given recognition and good working conditions, the desire for public ownership will be slight. Dissatisfaction and unreasonable demands upon employers will always exist, but, on the whole, satisfaction with the status quo will be sufficient to prevent vigorous action toward overthrowing it.

The above discussion has summarized the history of the relations between the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the electric light and power industry and has indicated the effect of union activities upon the industry. Although

there is a close connection between union strength and wages and working conditions of the individual workmen, they are by no means synonymous. Hence, the effect of union activities upon the wages and working conditions of the men deserves special mention. It is generally true that wages and hours, and working conditions closely related to them, have tended to improve as the power of the union in the industry has grown. It is also true that the influence of the union has been a factor in preventing wage reductions during times of industrial depression. These statements are made with full realization of the fact that the influence of the union has tended to vary directly with good business conditions. It is probably true that wages would have increased during and after the 1916-1920 period of prosperity had there been no labor unions. The fact, however, that many wage increases in the electric light and power as well as other industries during that period were secured only after strikes and threatened strikes by unions shows that the extent to which wages lagged behind the cost of living would have been much greater had it not been for organized labor. Another exception to the general rule that wages and working conditions tend to vary directly with the strength of the union in the industry is found in the fact that wages are as high in the central station industry, and in many cases even higher, during this present period of union weakness as they were in 1920, when the power of the union was at its height. This situation is not peculiar to the electric light and power industry, however, as wages have increased generally since 1920, except during the 1921-1923 depression.² In spite of this general increase in wages, it is nevertheless true that wages in the central station industry are higher in those companies where union influence is still stronger than elsewhere. This is particularly true in those cities where municipal plants are also in existence, such as Detroit and Seattle.

The safety activities of the union, though directed almost as much toward establishing standards of construction which would necessitate the employment of a larger number of linemen, have tended to lessen the hazards of the occupation. The union will

²See following references for data concerning the general increase in wages, 1920-1927. *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 25, No. 3, September, 1927, pp. 112-135; Vol. 26, No. 2, February, 1928, p. 120.

undoubtedly continue to serve the best interests of the individual workmen through representing them in commission hearings concerning safe practices in the industry. The benefit features which have been developed by the Brotherhood primarily as a means of retaining the loyalty of its members have at the same time been of real service to the members. Particularly is this true of the life insurance features which have been established in recent years.

There are certain other problems affecting the welfare of the individual workers, however, which have been practically untouched by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Foremost among them has been the problem of security of employment, which is just as important as the problems of wages, hours, safety, and benefits, if not more so. The attempt of the union to secure union-shop or preferential union-shop agreements, which has been largely unsuccessful,¹ constitutes almost the only attempt of the union to obtain greater security of employment for its members. This type of activity, moreover, has affected the problem in only a superficial manner, as it has done nothing either to prevent unemployment or to provide benefits or insurance for its idle members. Indeed, many employers and some workers feel that the general effect of union activities is to increase insecurity of employment in the industry, in so far as union activities tend to result in strikes and lockouts. The proposed national understanding, with its opposition to strikes and recognition of the union, will tend to do away with much of the insecurity which has accompanied the more or less constant friction between employers and unionists. On the other hand, in so far as it hastens the tendency toward linemen's being employed on a temporary job basis, employment will tend to be less secure under such an arrangement than it has been previously.

The problem, however, is not insoluble. In the first place, public utility officials have already made some progress toward budgeting their work in such a manner that abnormal expansions and reductions in the size of the working force can be partially eliminated. Secondly, it is possible that some form of unemployment insurance will be developed, most likely under union auspices, which will make the effects of unemployment in the industry less severe. Finally, it is reasonable to believe that

the recognition of the Brotherhood by the industry will result in increased wages and thus enable the workers to provide for periods of idleness through receiving a higher wage during periods of employment. This is generally recognized as the social justification for the high wages now paid to the building trades workers.

The public utility nature of the electric light and power industry, however, necessitates caution in making an analogy between the labor problems of that industry and those of the construction industry. The question immediately arises as to whether or not an alignment between the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and central station employers which tends to increase wages is socially desirable. It seems reasonable to believe that the high wages in the building trades have been passed on to the public in the form of higher construction costs. Higher wages in the central station industry will undoubtedly be reflected in electric rates, whether, as construction costs, they have been capitalized as a part of the investment, or whether they have been allowed as operating costs. The distribution of the income of the electric light and power industry among wage-earners, other employees, owners of capital, and consumers is certain to become a more disputed question in the future than it has been in the past. Disputes between wage-earners and management, however, will probably be less troublesome, as any national understanding which is reached between the two parties will, of necessity, provide some type of voluntary arbitration machinery. It is impossible to generalize concerning the extent to which public welfare will demand that governmental bodies attempt to fix wage rates in the industry. That public utility commissions will be compelled to give greater attention to the question of wages, not only of operating employees but also of construction workers, in attempting to fix service rates which will guarantee a fair return to investors is a logical conclusion. In the past, regulatory bodies have side-stepped the question of wages and have left it entirely to the management. Management has desired to increase private profits and at the same time maintain favorable public relations through keeping wages, as well as other costs of production, low in order to make reasonably low service rates possible. Workers have resented this and,

through the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, have attempted to improve wages and other working conditions. The economic method was successful for a time. When it had apparently failed, union leaders turned to the method of propaganda and, through it, have reached the point where the union is likely to have more influence upon wages and working conditions than it has had previously. The close relation between wages and rates of service makes it imperative that the public as well as labor and management have something to say about wages. The public utility commissions constitute the logical representatives of the public in this matter.

The public is interested in the question of the continuity of electric service even more than in the question of rates. Although there have been interruptions of service because of disputes between unionists and employers, which have seriously discommoded the public, they have been insignificant as compared to interruptions of service in other utility industries, notably the transportation industries. It is certain that the problem will be even less important in the future. The large body of union workers in the industry, as pointed out earlier in this chapter, are engaged very largely in construction work. Those employees who are directly engaged in operation are largely non-union and probably will become even more so. Hence, even if the union electrical workers should suspend work, service would not be interrupted except in case of an unusually long strike or some catastrophe which would put lines out of commission. Moreover, the recent history of the activities of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers shows an increasing tendency toward the settlement of disputes through peaceful means rather than strikes. The negotiations which the officers of the Brotherhood are now carrying on with leaders of the industry for a national understanding which will create conditions that will make strikes unnecessary are an indication of this tendency. The social importance of the problem of trade unionism in the electric light and power industry, consequently, does not lie in the relation between unionism and the continuity of service. It lies, rather, in the relation of trade unionism to the problem of fixing rates of service which will be oppressive to neither the consumer, the worker, nor the owner of capital.

APPENDIX

AGREEMENT—INSIDE MEN¹

This agreement made and entered into this 19th day of May, A D, 1913, by and between the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, the party of the first part, hereinafter called the "Company" and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, affiliated with the A F of L, the party of the second part, hereinafter called "Employees"

Witnesseth That whereas the Company is engaged in the business of supplying among other commodities, electric energy within the cities of San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose, San Rafael, and Sacramento, and in the pursuit of its business requires the running of conduits, installation of wiring and other apparatus on consumers' premises necessary to supply service and whereas said Employees are willing to enter into a contract with the said Company, the parties hereto do agree to the following working conditions and wage schedule for a period of three (3) years commencing May 19, 1913

Working Conditions

- 1 Eight (8) hours shall constitute a day's work Working hours, 8 A M to 12 A M and 1 P M to 5 P M
- 2 Overtime shall be computed on the basis of eight (8) hours per day and at the minimum rate employee is entitled to in Section 15
- 3 All overtime shall be rated as specified in Sections 4, 5, and 6
- 4 Overtime starting at 5 P M or later shall be computed at the rate of double time of minimum rate and shall continue until employee is relieved of duty
- 5 Employees reporting for work between 5 A M and 8 A M will be paid at the rate of double time, ordinary hours following shall be computed at straight time All time to be figured as specified in Section 15
- 6 All time worked during regular hours on Sundays and holidays will be computed at double time of rate of pay, as specified in Section 15
- 7 Employees working on 8-hour basis shall go to and from point of work on their own time
- 8 Holidays shall be as follows Fourth of July, Labor Day, Admission Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, and Saturday afternoons in San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose, San Rafael, and Sacramento When any of the above holidays fall on Sunday, the following Monday shall be considered a holiday
- 9 All employees at work on primary and general election days, and who are entitled to vote in the district in which they are located,

¹L C Grasser, International Vice-President—*Electrical Worker*, July, 1913, pp 1045-1047

will be allowed two hours at the rate of pay as specified in Section 15, in which to vote at said election. Election days are not in any case to be considered as holidays or half-holidays.

- 10 Men working outside the city limits shall report at the city limits at 8 A. M. unless required to report at the store-room at 8 A. M. If reporting at the city limits at 8 A. M., they shall travel the rest of the way on Company time or receive regular overtime. Same rule to apply to return trip.
- 11 The Company agrees to pay all car-fare beyond the 5c limit and during working hours in transferring, etc.
- 12 Employees shall be paid semi-monthly, payment to be made on or before the 21st of the month for wages due and up to and including the 15th of the current month, and on or before the 6th of the month for wages due up to and including the last day of the preceding month.
- 13 Foreman Wiremen. An employee having charge of more than two (2) Journeyman Wiremen shall be rated as a Foreman Wireman.
- 14 Journeyman Wiremen. An employee engaged in the work of installing metal conduits, mouldings, and wiring in buildings and the setting of meters only, will be classed as Journeyman Wiremen and will receive a minimum wage for that class of work as listed in Section 15, with the proviso and understanding that where outside electrical workers, classed as Linemen, run aerial wires and cables on poles, and from poles to building, on over or outside of building, that nothing herein shall be construed as to prevent said Outside Linemen from setting meters in connection with the job, provided, however, no inside wiring or installation of conduits is done.
- 15 *Minimum Rates of Pay*
Foreman Wiremen shall receive not less than \$5.50 per day.
Journeyman Wiremen shall receive not less than \$5.00 per day.
Apprentices, \$2.50 to \$4.00 per day, according to class.

In Witness Whereof, the parties hereto hereto affixed their hands and seals through their respective officers the day and year first above written.

PACIFIC GAS AND ELECTRIC COMPANY
(Signed) JOHN A. BRITTON,
Vice-President and General Manager
I B E W
(Signed) L. C. GRASSER,
International Vice-President

AGREEMENT—OUTSIDE MEN

This agreement made and entered into this 21st day of May, A. D., 1913, by and between the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, the party of the first part, hereinafter called the "Company," and the International

Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, affiliated with the A F of L (together with its subordinate local unions), the party of the second part, hereinafter called the "Employees"

Witnesseth That, whereas the Company is engaged in the business of supplying, among other commodities, electric energy within the cities of San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose, and San Rafael and in the pursuit of its business requires the construction, operation and maintenance of transmission, distribution, telephone lines and apparatus in connection therewith, and the performance of other work necessary to supply service, and whereas said Employees are willing to enter into a contract with the said Company, the parties hereto do agree to the following conditions and wage schedule for a period of three (3) years commencing May 21st, 1913

Working Conditions

- 1 Eight (8) hours shall constitute a day's work Working hours, 8 A M to 12 A M and 1 P M to 5 P M, except where the demands of the service require regular shifts Such shifts are to be any eight (8) consecutive hours (excepting intermission for meals) of the 24
- 2 Overtime shall be computed on the basis of eight (8) hours per day and at the minimum rates according to Sections 17 and 18
- 3 All overtime shall be computed as specified in Sections 4 and 5
- 4 All time worked between 5 P M and 8 A M for day men and after regular working hours, or during the next 16 hours for shift men, and for time worked on Sundays and holidays, will be paid at the rate of double time
- 5 Employees reporting for work between 5 A M and 8 A M will be paid at the rate of double time, ordinary hours following shall be computed at straight time (This not to apply to shift men)
- 6 Employees working on 8-hour basis shall go to and from work on their own time
- 7 Holidays shall be as follows New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday, Decoration Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, Admission Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day, and Saturday afternoons in San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose, and San Rafael, if the employees so elect
- 8 All employees at work on primary and general election days, and who are entitled to vote in the district in which they are located, will be allowed two hours at the rate of pay as specified in Sections 17 and 18, in which to vote at said election Election days are in no case to be considered as holidays or half-holidays
- 9 Men working outside the city limits shall report at the city limits at 8 A M unless required to report at the store-room at 8 A M If reporting at the city limits at 8 A M, they shall travel the rest of the way on Company time or receive regular overtime Same rule to apply to return trip

- 10 The Company agrees to pay all car-fare beyond the 5c limit and during working hours in transferring, etc
- 11 Men regularly working for the company in any city, when sent from such place of employment to any other point from which they cannot return nightly to regular place of employment will be allowed traveling expenses, board and lodging during the time they are away from the regular place of employment
- 12 Employees shall be paid semi-monthly, payment to be made on or before the 21st of the month for wages due and up to and including the 15th of the month, and on or before the 6th of the month for wages due up to and including the last day of the preceding month
- 13 The Company agrees to employ only members of the I B E W, affiliated with the A F of L (together with its subordinate Local Unions) in so far as the organization can furnish men, provided that men at present employed in any position shall not be discriminated against but shall be permitted at the pleasure of the Company to retain their present positions

Outside Electrical Workers

- 14 Outside Electrical Workers shall include Linemen, Lamp Trimmers, Cable Splicers, Trouble-men, Repair and Station Construction Men and attendants in central lighting and power stations
- 15 Line Foremen An employee having charge of more than three (3) Journeyman Linemen shall be rated as a Line Foreman
- 16 Lamp Trimmers Lamp Trimmers shall receive \$100 00 per month They shall not be required to work more than eight (8) hours per day Lamp Trimmers with horse and cart shall be allowed \$35 00 per month for the keep of horse and cart
- 17 *Minimum Rates of Pay*

Foreman Linemen will be paid on the monthly basis at the rate of \$135 00 per month, no extra pay being allowed for overtime worked No reduction in salary will be made for any enforced loss of time except in cases of dismissal Foremen on the monthly basis will be entitled to two (2) weeks' vacation per annum with full pay

Journeyman Linemen—\$4 50 per day

Edison Tube Men—\$4 50 per day

Cable Foremen—\$6 00 per day

Apprentices—\$3 25 per day

Cable Splicers—\$5 50 per day

Lamp Trimmers—\$100 per month

Trouble-men—\$115 per month

Trouble-men shall work in a shift of eight (8) consecutive hours, Sundays and holidays included, and shall be entitled to one day off per week with no loss in pay

All joining and splicing of lead-covered cables is to be done by Journeyman Cable Splicers

- 18 Operators Operators in Stations and Sub-Stations will receive from \$70.00 to \$110.00 per month according to classification of Station
- 19 In case of swing operator employed, he shall receive not less than the maximum salary of the employee whose position he fills
- 20 It is hereby agreed and understood that all monthly operators employed shall have at least one day off each week with no loss in pay
- 21 The territory mentioned in this agreement includes the cities of San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose, San Rafael and all territory lying between San Francisco and San Jose and between San Rafael and Sausalito

In Witness Whereof, the parties hereto have hereunto affixed their hands and seals through their respective officers, the day and year of the first above written

PACIFIC GAS AND ELECTRIC COMPANY

(Signed) JOHN A. BRITTON,
Vice-President and General Manager

I B E W

(Signed) L. C. GRASSER,
International Vice-President

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES¹

(Adopted by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the National Electrical Contractors Association in 1919)

Preamble

The vital interests of the Public, and of Employee and Employer in the industry are inseparably bound together. All will benefit by a continuous peaceful operation of the industrial process and the devotion of the means of production to the common good.

Principles

(1) The facilities of the electrical industry for service to the public will be developed and enhanced by recognition that the overlapping of the functions of the various groups in the industry is wasteful and should be eliminated.

¹This declaration was incorporated into President Noonan's Report to the 1927 Convention of the Brotherhood as a part of his request for authority to negotiate with central station employers for a national understanding. He said: "We believe that a similar condition can be created for the benefit of the men engaged in the power industry and that through some central agency and understanding, a declaration of principles can be secured that will open the way for agreements between the employing members of that Central Organization and the locals of the Brotherhood to be underwritten by both parent bodies." *Report of Officers, IBEW*, 1927, p. 27.

(2) Close contact and a mutually sympathetic interest between employee and employer will develop a better working system and will tend constantly to stimulate production while improving the relationship between employer and the community

(3) Strikes and lock-outs are detrimental to the interests alike of employee and employer and the public and should be avoided

(4) Agreements or understandings which are designed to obstruct directly or indirectly the free development of trade, or to secure to special groups special privileges and advantages are subversive of the public interest and cancel the doctrine of equality of rights and opportunity, and should be condemned

(5) The public interest is conserved, hazard to life and property is reduced, and standards of work are improved by fixing an adequate minimum of qualifications in knowledge and experience as a requirement precedent to the right of an individual to engage in electrical construction, and by the rigid inspection of electrical work, old and new

(6) Public welfare, as well as the interests of the trade, demands that electrical work be done by the electrical industry

(7) Co-operation between employee and employer acquires constructive power, as both employees and employers become more completely organized

(8) The right of employees and employers in local groups to establish local wage scales and local working rules is recognized and nothing herein is to be construed as infringing that right

TABLE I
SUMMARY—DEVELOPMENT OF THE CENTRAL ELECTRIC LIGHT AND POWER INDUSTRY*

Item	1902	1907	1912	1917	1922	1927†
Value of Plant and Equipment (000)	\$504 740	\$1 096 914	\$2 175 678	\$3 060 302	\$4 465 016	\$8 084 000
Revenues (000)	\$1 151 041	\$1 175 047	\$2 304 775	\$3 526 584	\$4 672 532	\$1 781 700
Expenses (000)	\$ 68 862	\$ 131 862	\$ 211 569	\$ 325 438	\$ 400 292	\$ 75 116
Output	30 507	47 612	79 335	105 541	150 763	230 000
Number of Persons Employed	30 326	47 612	79 335	105 541	150 763	230 000
Salaries and Wages (000)	\$ 20 647	\$ 35 420	\$ 61 162	\$ 95 242	\$ 212 433	\$ 21 694
Number of Customers (000)	3 630	1 947	3 838	7 179	12 710	21 694
Number of Establishments	7 850	4 714	5 221	6 543	6 155	4 409
Number of Prime Movers	12 484	10 908	11 902	11 795	13 262	
Number of Generators	12 173	12 173	12 610	13 428	12 701	

*The source for the material in Tables I-X, inclusive, is the U. S. Census Reports for the Central Electric Light and Power Stations unless otherwise specified.

†Unofficial figures—*Electrical World*, Vol. 91, No. 1, January 7, 1923, p. 32.

‡No census of customers taken before 1907.

TABLE II
PER CENT OF INCREASE IN FACTORS SHOWN IN TABLE I

Item	1902-1922	1902-1907	1907-1912	1912-1917	1917-1922	1922-1927*
Value of Plant and Equipment	78.4	117.3	98.3	40.7	45.9	81.0
Revenues	115.1	104.9	72.1	74.3	103.5	66.6
Expenses	114.9	97.1	74.8	81.8	101.5	
Output	159.7	131.8	97.3	119.9	58.4	86.4
Number of Persons Employed	357.1	57.1	66.6	33.0	42.8	52.6
Salaries and Wages	928.9	71.6	72.7	55.7	123.0	70.5
Number of Customers	512.7†		97.1	87.1	77.0	-3.9
Number of Establishments	25.5	30.2	10.8	25.3	-2.9	-30.6
Number of Prime Movers	68.9	40.1	8.2	15.9		
Number of Generators	1.7	-2.5	3.6	6.5	-5.4	

*Unofficial figures—*Electrical World*, Vol. 91, No. 1, January 7, 1923, p. 32.

†1907-1922. No census of customers taken before 1907.

TABLE III
DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENSES, 1917, 1922

Item	Amount (000)		Per Cent	
	1917	1922	1917	1922
Total Expenses	\$426 568	\$859 625	100 0	100 0
Fuel	87 272	102 538	20 5	18 9
Electric Current Purchased	38 818	88 637	9 1	10 3
Rent Payments for Leases, etc	9 979	18 741	2 3	2 2
Supplies, Materials, and Miscellaneous	53 130	91 163	12 5	10 6
Salaries	36 788	86 952	8 6	10 1
Wages	58 454	125 481	13 7	14 6
Taxes	30 063	73 773	7 1	8 6
Injuries, Damages, and Legal Expense	1 697	4 340	0 4	0 5
Insurance	3 783	6 619	0 9	0 8
Interest on Funded and Floating Debt	73 584	130 494	17 2	15 2
Charges for Depreciation	28 307	63 551	6 6	7 4
Sinking and Other Reserve Funds	4 702	7 316	1 1	0 8

TABLE IV
SALARIES, WAGES, EXPENSES, INCOME—COMPARATIVE

Item	Census Year	Central Electric Light and Power	Electric Railway	Telephone
Salaries and Wages (000)	1922	\$212 433	\$445 680	\$341 538
	1917	95 242	267 240	169 655
	1912	61 162	200 891	98 041
	1907	35 420	150 991	65 009
	1902	20 647	88 210	36 756
Wages (000)	1922	125 481	388 191	247 532
	1917	58 454	233 331	123 088
	1912	36 855	174 762	63 359
	1907	23 687	138 082	46 467
	1902	14 083		26 370
Expenses (000)	1922	859 625	975 595	560 160
	1917	426 568	648 795	313 101
	1912	234 577	498 736	202 568
	1907	134 197	361 369	134 525
	1902	68 861	203 169	65 165
Income (000)	1922	1 072 120	1 049 801	656 824
	1917	526 894	770 165	374 502
	1912	302 273	586 391	253 894
	1907	175 642	430 157	175 750
	1902	85 701	250 527	86 826

TABLE V
RATIO (EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE) OF SALARIES AND WAGES TO TOTAL EXPENSES AND TO TOTAL INCOME, BY INDUSTRIES

	1902		1907		1912		1917		1922	
	To Ex- penses	To In- come	To Ex- penses	To In- come	To Ex- penses	To In- come	To Ex- penses	To In- come	To Ex- penses	To In- come
Central Electric Light and Power	30 3	24 1	26 4	20 2	26 1	20 2	22 3	18 1	24 7	19 8
Electric Railway	43 5	35 2	42 3	35 1	40 9	34 3	41 2	36 7	45 7	42 5
Telephone	55 6	41 7	48 3	36 0	47 4	37 8	54 2	45 5	61 0	51 0

TABLE VI
EMPLOYEES, SALARIES AND WAGES, 1922

Class	Salaries and Wages		Employees	
	Amount (000)	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total	\$212 433	100 0	150 762	100 0
Officers	9 247	4 8	2 813	1 9
Superintendents and Managers	16 701	7 9	6 915	4 6
Clerks, Stenographers, etc	61 003	28 7	45 384	30 1
Wage earners	125 482	58 6	95 650	63 4

TABLE VII
WAGE-EARNERS, OUTPUT, AND NUMBER OF CUSTOMERS
1902-1922

Census Year	Number of Wage-earners	Output (mil- lions of K W H)	Output per Wage earner	Number of Customers (000)	Customers per Wage-earner
1922	95 650	40 292	421 239	12 710	133
1917	70 135	25 438	369 705	7 179	102
1912	53 242	11 569	217 293	3 858	73
1907	34 642	5 862	166 338	1 947	56
1902	23 330	2 507	107 465		

TABLE VIII
RATIO (EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE) OF WAGES TO TOTAL EXPENSES AND TO TOTAL INCOME, BY INDUSTRIES

	1902		1907		1912		1917		1922	
	To Ex- penses	To In- come	To Ex- penses	To In- come	To Ex- penses	To In- come	To Ex- penses	To In- come	To Ex- penses	To In- come
Central Electric Light and Power	21 7	17 5	17 5	13 5	15 7	12 2	13 7	11 1	14 6	11 7
Electric Railway			38 2	32 1	35 0	29 8	36 0	32 0	39 8	37 0
Telephone	40 5	30 4	34 5	26 4	31 2	25 0	39 3	33 0	44 2	37 7

TABLE IX
WAGES, 1902-1922

Census Year	Number of Wage-earners	Total Wages (000)	Average Wage	Per Cent of In-crease in Average Wage
1922	95 650	\$125 481	\$1 312	57 5
1917	70 135	58 454	833	20 4
1912	53 242	36 835	692	1 2
1907	34 642	23 687	684	
1902	23 330	14 983	642	6 5

TABLE X
GROWTH IN MEMBERSHIP, INTERNATIONAL UNION OF STEAM
AND OPERATING ENGINEERS AND INTERNATIONAL
BROTHERHOOD OF FIREMEN AND OILERS*

Year	Engineers	Firemen	Year	Engineers	Firemen
1897	700		1912	17 700	11 400
1898	1 200		1913	20 000	16 000
1899	1 800	1 100	1914	20 300	16 000
1900	2 700	2 400	1915	21 000	16 000
1901	4 800	4 100	1916	21 000	17 000
1902	6 500	6 200	1917	22 000	17 000
1903	14 200	14 300	1918	23 000	17 100
1904	17 600	18 000	1919	25 000	20 500
1905	17 500	12 200	1920	32 000	29 600
1906	17 500	12 300	1921	32 000	35 000
1907	17 500	12 500	1922	22 000	25 000
1908	16 800	17 300	1923	27 100	12 500
1909	16 100	10 700	1926	30 000	17 000
1910	16 000	8 100	1927	40 000	
1911	16 000	8 000			

*Membership figures for both organizations for all years except 1926 and 1927 are taken from Dr Leo Wolman's *Growth of American Trade Unions* pp 118-119. The *Handbook of American Trade Unions*, U S Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No 420 (pp 28 and 50), provides the 1926 figure. A communication from General Secretary-Treasurer Dave Evans, of the Engineers Union, dated January 16, 1928, provided the 1927 figure. The increase in membership of that organization in 1927 was due to the absorption of the International Union of Steam-Shovel Men.

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A DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF BULGARIA
1870-1886

By
ARTHUR MAY HYDE
Professor of History
Union College

PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
URBANA

PREFACE

Whenever, during the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there was any disturbance in the Balkan Peninsula, the Great Powers of Europe were pretty sure to give it their attention. The situation there was in unstable equilibrium, and a shift was always possible which might be to some one's disadvantage. For this reason a history of the creation of modern Bulgaria must be mainly diplomatic. When stirrings in the Near East indicated danger, the chancelleries of the Great Powers became active. For the same reason, also, we find the history of changes in the Near East written extensively in the languages of Western Europe. Great Britain has been especially generous in the publication of documents and the correspondence of her diplomatic and consular agents. Recently the documents of the German foreign office have been published. Prince Alexander of Battenberg was a German, and left much material which E. C. Cori has made available in his biography. Herr Koch was Alexander's chaplain, and has left his recollections of the Prince in his biography. Jiracek, who occupied an official position in Bulgaria for a number of months, has written an important history of Bulgaria before the days of the principality, and a book on the principality, both descriptive and historical. The journal of M. Quellé has also been published, covering the time of his residence in Bulgaria as financial adviser together with a history of the early days of the principality. Other books by travellers or foreign residents and abundant material furnished by correspondents of the *London Times* are also available. Accordingly, the writer has felt that even without a knowledge of the Bulgarian language, a diplomatic history of Bulgaria during the period of its birth and infancy can be made worth while.

This book, prepared in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History at the University of Illinois, owes much to several who have read the manuscript. The writer takes pleasure in recording his gratitude

to those who have taken that trouble and made suggestions for improvement to Professor E L Bogart and Professor J A Fairlie, and especially to Professor A H Lybyer for detailed and kindly criticism, and to my sister, Miss Margaret Hyde, for carefully reading and helpfully suggesting many improvements in diction

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In 1870 Bulgaria was taking her first important step toward independence. In that year she gained her liberty in ecclesiastical affairs by the establishment of the Bulgarian church. This event had been preparing for many years. Gradually the Bulgarians were coming to a realization of long-standing abuses and to a consciousness of their identity as a people. Their first great step toward independence was brought to pass largely by their own efforts, though not without some assistance from foreign powers.

When the Turks conquered the Byzantine Empire, the patriarch of the Greek Church was placed over all the Christians of the newly conquered territories. This was convenient for the Sultan, as such ecclesiastical centralization would take the place, to some extent, of political centralization. The patriarch was given his headquarters in Constantinople. He sat in the divan and served as representative of the people over whom he ruled ecclesiastically. The result was a religious tyranny, a religious tyranny added to political despotism. "The Constantinople Church," states Shasistis, "with its prelates and dignitaries who represented it in every community was virtually their supreme ruler in national affairs as well."¹ Like the Turkish officials and tax-gatherers, the church officials held their places for the exploitation of the people and not for their edification. The people had little or no ethical teaching from their clergy. The priests of ancient Greece were more helpful than these modern priests.² They called themselves Christians, but Christianity meant nothing to them but a place in a system for worldly gain and privilege. Bishoprics were bought from the patriarch and the people were compelled to pay the price and enough in addition to support the higher clergy in luxury. Priests were required to pay from \$80 to \$200 for their ordination and from \$20 to \$50 yearly. At a marriage or a death, fees were exacted from the

¹D. Mishew, *The Bulgarians in the Past*, p. 215.

²Albert Dumont, in *Revue des deux mondes*, Oct. 1, 1871.

people, and in the case of a death, the corpse could not leave the house until the fee was paid. The amount paid by Christian subjects of the Sultan to their clergy was said to exceed the amount paid to the Ottoman government.³

For a long time the people of the Balkans submitted to this oppression. In former times and of late years the Bulgarians have shown sufficient spirit, but for some four centuries after the Turkish conquest they were unresisting subjects. They forgot they were Bulgarians, and no one called to mind certain periods in their history when the name Bulgaria meant glory and power. For many years Europe forgot them too. The Greek language was used in the Bulgarian church services, and, although Bulgarian was employed as their domestic language, the people attached no significance to its use. The submergence of the Bulgarians seems to have taken place during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, unconsciously, both on their part and on the part of the Greeks. During the latter half of the eighteenth century, however, the spirit of nationalism appeared in Europe. Of Turkish subjects, the Greeks were first aroused. It came to be their purpose to hellenize all the Balkan region, perhaps to restore the Byzantine Empire. At any rate it was their ambition to make European Turkey Greek in culture. The Greek patriarchate at Constantinople was to be the important agency in this process. In 1767 the Sultan, over whom the Patriarch had much influence, suppressed the Bulgarian archbishopric of Ochrida. The incumbent had kept the title of patriarch with privileges and with some freedom for his diocese. Memories of former days had been preserved there. But it stood as an obstacle to the hellenizing program, it was therefore removed.

But the spirit of nationality which inflamed the minds of the Greeks affected also the Bulgarians. In 1762, a monk, Paisii, published a history of Bulgaria. It was not a work of scientific merit, but it served to interest a few Bulgarians in their past. "Bulgarians," he said, "learn of your race and know your language. I am taking the trouble to write this history that all Bulgarians may see that our people were also glorious, were more glorious than all others, that they possessed great kings, patri-

³St. Marc Girardin, in *Revue des deux mondes*, Feb. 12, 1861. The article is an analysis of reports made by British consuls to their government.

archs, levied taxes on the mighty Byzantines and gave books and writings to other people."⁴ The publishing of this book marked the beginning of the Bulgarian renaissance.

This revival progressed slowly. The Greeks did the best they could to check it by burning all they could find of Slavic books and manuscripts. Among the Bulgarians were only a few who were concerned to keep alive the memories of their race. A great many of them had become, to all intents and purposes, Greeks. For many years the schools of Bulgaria were Greek, conducted by Greeks or hellenized Bulgarians. Some of these Bulgarian teachers became intensely patriotic Greeks. Eugene Bulgaris, a Bulgarian who lived in the eighteenth century, was the greatest Greek scholar of his time. To him and to his disciples is due the beginning of the revival of the Greek language and literature.⁵ Marco Bozzaris, the legendary hero of the Greek struggle for independence, was a Bulgarian, so it is claimed. Other Bulgarian heroes fought for Greek independence.⁶

However, Paissi's History had some influence, and an attempt was made to start Bulgarian schools, but no Bulgarian school of western standards came into existence before 1835. It is at this time that the movement for the revival of the Bulgarian nationality begins to assume considerable proportions.

In 1840 a translation of the Bible into modern Bulgarian was published. The work of translation was in the hands of a committee of Bulgarians ably assisted by the American missionary, Dr. Elias Riggs. Paissi's History was in a language which is described as a transition from the Slavic used in the Church to the Bulgarian language of today. This Bible was one of the first books in pure Bulgarian. As there were no printing presses allowed in the country, these early books were published abroad.⁷

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries many Bulgarians went to the cities. About 1855 there were more than 30,000 in Constantinople.⁸ There they became, to some degree, prosperous. They proved to be better artisans than the Greeks. City life was broadening and stimulating and had something to

⁴N. Staneff, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, pp. 44-45.

⁵Mishew, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 195.

⁷Mishew, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

⁸Alois Hajek, *Bulgarien unter der Turkensschaft*, p. 189.

do with the emergence of the Bulgarian nation. On the other hand, there were certain districts in the region of the Balkans so retired that they had never been hellenized and certain monasteries continued to use Slavic religious books. In mountainous regions there were organized groups of men called haidouks who helped, also, in keeping alive the memory of a free Bulgaria. They were hardly to be distinguished from bandits, but, like the patriots of the days of Queen Elizabeth, they plundered with discrimination, and a motive even stronger than greed was often revenge for wrongs done to their relatives by the Turks.

These haidouks helped to keep alive the spirit of resistance to oppression and were responsible for several insurrections against the Turks in the nineteenth century. They were rather frequent between 1830 and 1841. In 1834 Marmartchoff of Katel led a rising at Tirnovo. In 1835 advantage was taken of the revolt of Mehemet Ali against the Sultan. The insurrectionists were especially active along the Serbian border, since the Serbians led them to hope for help. In 1836 the monastery of Kapinovo was taken by the Turks and plundered, and Marmartchoff banished to Konia.⁹ In 1841 a revolt of a more general character broke out. There were simultaneous insurrections in Nish on the Serbian border, in Kirk-Kilisse near Adrianople, and at Shimpla west of Varna. Just before this the Hatti-sherif of 1839 had been issued promising reforms, but, although it was not without result, there was not enough improvement to prevent revolts. Great cruelty was shown by the Turks in putting these insurrections down. Unarmed Bulgarians were attacked, churches were plundered, and 225 villages burned. The Austrian consul at Nish reported atrocities in 2000 villages in the districts of Nish, Pirot, and Leskovas.¹⁰

The insurrection of 1841 attracted some attention among the Powers. They were appealed to by the Bulgarians, who expected substantial help, especially from France who claimed to be protector of Christians in Turkey. The Serbian cabinet alone made an official protest against the cruelties of the Turks, although European papers published reports of Turkish cruelties and public opinion against Turkish methods began to be aroused

⁹Mishew, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-46, Hajek, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-51.

¹⁰Hajek, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-56.

among the people of the West¹¹ After a time revolutionary bands became well organized, both at home and abroad, and their example and exploits helped to intensify Bulgarian national feeling The most famous of these insurrectionary leaders or voyoidas was Sava Rakovsky, editor, historian, and archaeologist—wielder of the pen as well as of the sword¹²

During the years from 1850 to 1870 the efforts of Bulgarian leaders and the interest and participation of foreign governments in the Eastern question became more conspicuous Attention was directed especially toward obtaining relief for the Christian subjects of Turkey, and the chief purpose of the Bulgarians and their friends came to be to obtain their independence from the Phanar, i e., the Greek organization at Constantinople controlling Greek Orthodox communicants in a large part of Turkey For many years the French and Russian governments, and at times the Austrian, had shown themselves sensitive to the violation by the Porte of the rights of Christians Sometimes those making pilgrimages to the Holy Places were molested, or the privileges of the subjects of European Powers residing in the Ottoman Empire were interfered with, or perhaps Turkish subjects who were Roman Catholic or Greek Orthodox Christians were persecuted

¹¹In the forties Europe began to take some notice of the Bulgarians The French minister, Guizot, sent a special representative into European Turkey to investigate conditions there, and he not only made his official report but also published a book, *Voyage in Bulgaria* (Paris, 1843) He visited Sofia, Philippopolis, and other places He witnessed the outbreak of 1841 and its merciless suppression Here are over 7 million Christians "such as we are," he says, who are treated like dogs by a government with whom all Christian States have representatives In 1843 there was written by Alexander Stoulovitch, Exarch, a memorial to present to the five Powers of Europe the Bulgarian side of the situation in the Ottoman Empire In 1846 he tried in vain to get help from European Courts Palmerston and other representatives of the diplomatic service were interested but unwilling to do anything to weaken Turkey for reasons of high politics Some Russian savants, too, during the first half of the 19th century, became interested in their brother Slavs in Turkey Exarch Alexander also aroused the interest of Count Nesselrode, Russian foreign minister, who sent him to Tsar Nicholas I with his memorial, though with no important results In the forties there were published articles by Cyprien Roberts in the *Revue des deux mondes*, on the people of European Turkey Hajek, *op cit*, pp 165-68

¹²Mishew, *op cit*, p 354.

The treaty of Carlowitz, made by Austria and other European states with Turkey in 1699, forbade the ill treatment of Christians residing in the dominion of the Porte, who had accepted Roman Catholicism. The capitulations with France in 1740 provided that the "bishops, subjects of France, and other religious persons who profess the Frankish religion of whatever nation or race they may be when they keep within the borders of their state shall not be molested in the exercise of their functions in the places of our empire where they have for a long time been"¹³

As Russia expanded toward the Black Sea her relations with Turkey became increasingly important. By the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji, made in 1774, "The Sublime Porte promised a continual protection to the Christian religion and to the Churches of that religion"¹⁴. This, and other articles of the treaty, gave the Russian government the right to make representations, and these, the Porte promised to respect. It was, perhaps, partly for imperialistic reasons that these provisions were made and taken advantage of by Russia, but there were other very good reasons for these clauses. A Bulgarian writer says "By wresting these documents from Turkey, Russia laid the foundation of international altruism until then unknown to history." We find here, at any rate, two of the elements of the Eastern question—first, the presence in Turkey of numerous Christians likely to be unjustly treated by the Turkish officials or people, and second, Russian interest in the situation. It was due to Russia and, in some degree, to England and France, that Greece won her freedom in 1829. England's action at that time, however, was not in accordance with her policy, definitely adopted later, of opposing the disintegration of Turkey.

In 1854 came the Crimean War which began ostensibly over the rights, claimed by France on the one hand and by Russia on the other, to protect Christians in the Ottoman Empire. The result to the Christian subjects in European Turkey was of some importance. It increased the prestige of Turkey, diminished that of Russia, and added to the interest Europe and

¹³A Schopoff, *Les réformes et la protection des Chrétiens en Turquie*, 1673-1904, p. 8

¹⁴*Ibid*

America took in the East. It also awakened the subject peoples of European Turkey to a larger realization of their condition and aroused, perhaps, an expectation of European help at some future time. By the treaty of 1856 Turkey, being on the side of the victors, was favored by permission "to participate in the advantages of the Public Law and System (Concert) of Europe. Their Majesties engage each on his part, to respect the Independence and the Territorial Integrity of the Ottoman Empire." It was because of the promises of reform contained in the firman of 1856, called the Hattı-Houmayoun, that the Powers felt justified in depriving France and Russia of the privilege of interfering in the interests of the Christian subjects of the Sultan, or, perhaps we had better say, in relieving them from that duty. This decree was formally recognized in article IX of the Treaty of Paris.

His Imperial Majesty the Sultan having in his constant solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, issued a Firman, which, while ameliorating their condition without distinction of Religion or of Race, records his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his Empire, and wishing to give further proof of his sentiments in that respect, has resolved to communicate to the Contracting Parties the said Firman, emanating spontaneously from his Sovereign will.

The contracting parties recognize the high value of this communication. It is clearly understood that it cannot in any case give to the said powers the right to interfere either collectively or separately, in the relations of His Majesty the Sultan with his subjects nor in the Internal Administration of his Empire.¹⁸

Since this notice of the Hattı-Houmayoun was incorporated in the treaty, it was to be expected that the Sultan would occasionally be reminded of his delinquency if he should fail to carry out any of the promises he made. Such was in fact the case. In 1860 came a massacre of Christians in Syria and in 1867 a revolt in Crete and in the Balkans. On both these occasions representatives of the Powers had extensive conversations and copious correspondence over the troubled situation. Prince Gortchakoff, minister of foreign affairs in Russia, took notice of the failure to carry out the promises made in 1856, and argued that in the interests of the peace of Europe something be done, "not pursuing any end exclusively of Russian interest,"

¹⁸Sir Augustus Oakes and R. B. Mowat, *The Great European Treaties of the Nineteenth Century*

he said, "but desiring to save Europe from a general conflagration"¹⁶

Gorchakoff proposed that representatives of the Powers participating in the Treaty of 1856 send a note to the Porte to arouse it from its apathy and to hold conversations with that government in order to induce them to execute the principal provisions of the Hattı-Houmayoun¹⁷ Gortchakoff declared that the Russian policy was to maintain the Ottoman Empire, but under reasonable conditions, that, if the hour of that Empire had come, "we desire no territorial aggrandizement, no exclusive advantage provided that the other Powers prove themselves equally disinterested"¹⁸

England objected to any interference with Turkish independence and no common action was taken in 1860. However, the British consular agents conducted an investigation into the condition of Christians in the Ottoman Empire, and the Sultan sent his grand vizier, Mehmet-Kiprishi Pasha, into the provinces of European Turkey to examine the situation. The Turkish investigation had no consequences except to exasperate the European Powers, but the consular reports to the British government gave some real insight into the hardships of the Christians in the Turkish Empire and induced the British government to consent to a meeting of representatives of the Powers in Constantinople. Once more the Porte successfully used its customary methods. The meeting was put off on the plea that there should be time to prepare for it and the Porte was never ready.

In 1867 the Powers were aroused again by the outbreak in Crete and unrest in Serbia. There was a demand by the Austrian¹⁹ and the Russian²⁰ governments for a revision of the treaty of 1856. The Austrian government saw the desirability of quiet among the Slavs of the Ottoman Empire. The Russians were always interested in the Balkans and they wished also an annulment of the clause in the Treaty of Paris which forbade them to have warships upon the Black Sea. According to a common

¹⁶Baron I. DeTesta, *Recueil de Trastes de la Porte Ottomane*, VII, 351.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 356.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 369.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 415 ff.

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 430 ff.

belief in England, the Russian government desired the break-up of the Ottoman Empire, a policy not at all acceptable to British diplomacy. Russian views seem to have been more in accord with true statesmanship. Gortchakoff wrote to the Russian ambassador in Great Britain:

The fall of empires is in the hands of God. We do not object to the continued existence of the Ottoman Empire in Europe because we have no illusions as to the grave complications its disappearance would bring without a complete entente of the great powers. But we believe that the conservation of the authority of the Sultan is possible only if he rallies to his support his Christian subjects by bonds of confidence and a sense of security and well-being.²¹

The French foreign office saw hopes of improvement in provisions for the education of a class of men from whom judges and other officials of the Ottoman Empire might be drawn.²² France stood also for an amalgamation of Turkish subjects, Russia, on the other hand, was in favor of decentralization. France thought the fusion of races possible and would make no distinctions among Ottoman subjects. Russia desired the application of the principle of nationality with special guarantees.²³

The weakness of the French policy is pointed out by the Russian memorandum issued in March, 1867. "Eleven years of painful experience having shown that the Hattı-Houmayoun, which was represented perhaps with too much confidence to be of high value, has had no practical results." This document, more justly than the French proposals, recognizes the fundamental difficulty in the situation, namely, the doctrine of Mohamedan law which makes a marked distinction between Mussulmans and Christians.²⁴ As an illustration of this condition is cited the attempt of Midhat Pasha to suppress brigandage in Bulgarian territory. He threatened the execution of certain brigands but was not allowed to carry out his purpose because the brigands were Mussulmans. The cadi, the mollah, and all the Turkish authorities protested against their execution.²⁵ It is evident to one reading the documents of this period that the situation in Turkey was most carefully studied by the

²¹*Ibid*, pp. 430-31

²²*Ibid*, p. 432

²³Engelhardt, *La Turquie et le Tanzimat, ou l'histoire des réformes dans l'Empire Ottoman depuis 1826 jusqu'à nos jours*, I, 215-22

²⁴De Testa, *op. cit.*, VII, 437

²⁵*Ibid*, VII, 438

Russian government and its recommendations consequently were best adapted to meet the very great difficulties of the Turkish Empire. The remedy it proposed was the autonomy of the Christian population.²⁶ It was pointed out that certain communities in the Ottoman Empire were governed autonomously with satisfactory results. The Porte, of course, objected to any limitation of its power, and contended that a very important and effectual step had been taken in the way of good government when certain excellent principles had been laid down in the Hattı Sherif of Gualhane of 1839 and the Hattı-Houmayoun of 1856. England was always inclined during this period to take the Turkish point of view, standing firmly for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, urging, however, as a means to that end, the putting into effect of genuine reforms. The Hattı-Houmayoun of 1856 was said to be very largely the results of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's work. Many times British consuls had interfered and prevented injustice. It was a common thing, at least in the time of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, for a British consul to call the British ambassador's attention to instances of misgovernment and for the British ambassador to talk the matter over with the Turkish authorities and obtain a change of procedure.

In 1867 at the time of the Cretan insurrection, due, no doubt, to the pressure which foreign powers were bringing for the execution of reforms promised in 1856, the Law of the Vilayets was issued providing, among other things, for courts composed of Christians for the trial of cases involving Christians, and mixed courts for those involving Christians and Mussulmans.

The Russian contention that the reform decrees of 1839 and 1856 were dead letters is perhaps not quite borne out by the facts. Besides the Law of the Vilayets, other changes were made. It is true that the reforms were limited in scope and that those proclaimed were not well enforced, yet there was some change for the better. Englehardt points out that after the Hattı Sherif there was no more illegal confiscation of property and that it was no longer considered in accordance with good morals to put enemies out of the way clandestinely. Beside Midhat Pasha, who attempted to effect reforms in the vilayet

²⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 446-55.

of the Danube in the latter part of the sixties and early seventies, there were in the Turkish ministry Fuad Pasha and Aali Pasha who were interested in reform. Then, as was true of the Declaration of Rights issued by the French in 1789, these Turkish decrees served as programs and principles to which one could appeal. Cyrus Hamlin, American missionary in Turkey for many years, says that people of the Ottoman Empire claimed freedom from serfdom after the Hatti-Houmayoun was issued and after a while got it. Then he adds "Most of its provisions were never carried out. But it gave the people a knowledge of their rights. It was to them a political enunciation. It wrought a revolution in their ideas and that has led to a revolution in their condition."²⁷ A German historian says the execution of the Hatti-Houmayoun took place slowly, unequally, and incompletely, but that the document has remained only a scrap of paper is an assertion made partly through ill-will due to doctrinal considerations.²⁸

²⁷Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, p. 268.

²⁸Karl Ritter von Sax, *Geschichte des Machterfalls der Türkei*, p. 346.

CHAPTER II

FOUNDATION OF THE EXARCHATE

We have seen in the preceding chapter something of the tyranny of the Greek bishops over the Bulgarians who came under their care. We have seen also that one archbishop who had Ochrida for his seat had retained some degree of independence and was known as patriarch of the Bulgarians, and that in 1767 the Greek Church induced the Turkish government to suppress this Bulgarian Church. This period of religious independence the Bulgarian Christians recalled, and early in the nineteenth century began their struggle for its restoration. In these efforts to free themselves from the domination of the Phanariote Greeks the European Powers became interested. The demands at first were moderate. They asked only that, while the supremacy of the Greek patriarch should be acknowledged, they should, in certain places, have churches of their own where the services should be in Bulgarian. This request was refused, partly because of the fear that the granting of it would be a first step toward entire independence. At the time of the insurrections in 1841 and in 1851, among the demands of the people were requests for bishops and priests who understood their language. Due to the pressure the Bulgarians were able to exert, the Sultán in 1847 appointed three laymen who should act with the Greek patriarchate and, to a limited extent, should control it. Moreover, in 1848 permission was given for the erection of a Bulgarian Church in the Greek quarter of Constantinople.¹

One phase of the movement for a separate Bulgarian Church was the project entertained by some Bulgarians for union with the Roman Catholic Church. Romanists were sent as missionaries. One whom Dr. Schauffler, missionary of the American Board, met, is described as a polished, educated man who made large promises of worldly advantages if the Bulgarians would give their allegiance to the Pope.² A paper called *Bulgaria* was

¹Stanef, *Geschichte der Bulgarien*, pp. 56-57.

²*Missionary Herald*, March, 1857, pp. 78-79.

published in the interests of Romanism.² A considerable number of Bulgarians favored union with the Western Church. Some of the Western powers, including England, supported this step. Turkey, hoping to weaken possible enemies both at home and abroad, was willing to give her consent. So in 1861 the Uniate Bulgarian Church was organized, and recognized by a firman of the Sultan. Sokolski, abbot of the Gabrovo monastery, was ordained as its bishop and patriarch. But the new church did not go well. The support of the French and Austrian ambassadors which was counted upon was not forthcoming. Presents of sacred vases to the Bulgarian Uniate Church from the French Emperor and the existence in Paris of a committee of the most prominent citizens for aiding the Bulgarians had aroused false hopes.⁴ The French did not care to offend Russia, and so gave the Bulgarian Roman Catholic Church no further encouragement. Prokesch, the Austrian ambassador, gave out that Austria could intervene in favor of the Bulgarian people only if they broke entirely with orthodoxy, and thereby, with the Russian Empire. The attitude of the British ambassador, Sir Henry Bulwer, at first thought seems hard to explain. He was a Protestant, representing a Protestant power, yet preferred that the Bulgarian Church should ally itself with Rome. The explanation of this attitude is clear if it is remembered that Britain's policy was to thwart Russia's plans for strengthening her influence in the Balkans. The British government continued to hold to the policy which prevailed at the Congress of Berlin and right through the last half of the nineteenth century. Naturally the Russian ambassador opposed the breaking away from the Orthodox Church.

The church was formed, a patriarch was consecrated by the Pope, a berat confirming him in his office was issued by the Porte, and he was allowed to have his headquarters at Constantinople. The movement, however, never developed any vigor as it was impossible to win the support of more than a few Bulgarians. They feared that Rome would prove as great a tyrant as the Greek Church. Moreover, hardly any Bulgarians were

²Mishew, *The Bulgarians in the Past*, p. 419.

⁴Simeon Radoff, *La Macédoine et la renaissance bulgare au XIX^e siècle*, p. 199, Hajek, *Bulgarien unter der Türkensschaft*, p. 199.

willing to abandon the church of their fathers. What they wanted was a church organization of their own. Many of them helped in the effort to establish the Uniate church with no other purpose than to promote a Bulgarian church independent of Roman Pope and of Greek Patriarch.

St. Clair and Brophy, two British subjects who were in Bulgaria in the sixties and wrote a book on their observations, give a conversation with a Roman Catholic chief of the mission at Varna which presents another reason for the failure of the Roman-Bulgarian Church. The missionary says

Some time since several Bulgarian (not Greek though of the Greek Church) Papasses called on me with questions as to the possibility of union with the Holy See—but I can assure you, Signore, that such a thing is quite out of the question. There is one insurmountable religious obstacle to admitting

this clergy into union with our Church. Just imagine, all those Papasses, without exception, are so totally ignorant of all that relates to even the first principles and simplest doctrines of Christianity and their ideas of morality, even of social morality, are so vague and loose that it would be utterly impossible to admit them into our church as priests, but I doubt whether, without previously preparing them by a course of study, I should be justified in accepting them as catechumens.⁵

This Catholic priest ignored the Roman Catholic Church established in 1861, it was so obscure and unimportant.

As a protest, the secession from the Orthodox Church had some effect. Influenced also by the Russian ambassador and some vigorous action by a Bulgarian mob, the Greek patriarch was willing to grant certain privileges.⁶ The concessions were sanctioned by an imperial firman. They were those the Bulgarians had been asking twenty or thirty years before, a clergy of their own race subject to the Greek patriarch. In 1861 the concessions were regarded as of no importance and were rejected.

After this, negotiations went on for several years between the Phanar and the Bulgarian leaders, with the Russian ambassador showing much interest. In 1866 a satisfactory agreement was arrived at by representatives of the Bulgarians and of the Greek Church, but the agreement was not ratified by the patriarch, Sophronius, nor by the assembly of theologians called for the purpose of considering it. Soon after this a new patriarch displaced Sophronius taking the name Gregory VI.

⁵St. Clair and Brophy, *Residence in Bulgaria*, pp. 102-3, also in *Eastern Question in Bulgaria*, pp. 75-76.

With the election of Gregory VI in February, 1867, the events leading immediately to the establishment of the Bulgarian exarchate may be said to have begun. Gregory VI was a man of ability and character, much respected in Orthodox Church circles. He was inclined to be conciliatory. However, he was a good deal hampered by his advisers. A change in the organization of the church dating from 1860 had lessened the power of the patriarch and increased the power of the lay element in the church. The constitution of the church was so framed that the lay element could make it very uncomfortable for a patriarch who attempted to carry out a policy not pleasing to it. At this time on the question of granting more independence to the churches among the Bulgarians, the laymen were inclined to be less conciliatory than the churchmen. Looking at the political aspects of the matter, they feared that more freedom to the Bulgarians would mean less chance for Greek expansion.

The Russian ambassador, Ignatieff, had used his influence to bring about Gregory's election and the two were prepared to work cordially together. Gregory expressed a desire for a closer cooperation with the Russian Church—not with the government, however. For, he said

When political agents are directed to treat of religious matters one is always ready to attribute to them a political purpose concealed under the mask of religion. It would not be any longer the same when the high Russian clergy inaugurated (in spiritual affairs) relations with the patriarchate which is direct and carried on independently of all governmental action.⁴

In dealing with the Bulgarian affair which Gregory took hold of with energy, he consulted confidentially with the Russian ambassador. When his plan was ready he took it to Ignatieff who said of it, "The project of the patriarch gives a body of concessions which effectively guarantee the Bulgarian aspirations. Monseigneur Gregory makes no mistake as to the importance of the plan he proposes."

"I am building a bridge," Gregory remarked, "to the political independence of the Bulgarians."

By Patriarch Gregory's plan the Bulgarians were to have their own church officials and were to be virtually independent.

⁴Troubetzkoï, "La politique russe en Orient," in *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, XXI (1907), 175, Radeff, *op cit*, p. 184.

of the Greek Patriarch. This was just what the Bulgarian leaders were working for, and the proposal would have been acceptable to them if it had not narrowed the territory of the Bulgarian church to that between the Danube and the Balkans and thus left out many of the Bulgarian people. Nevertheless, the project no doubt should have been accepted. Ignatieff thought so, and, if it had been, much hard feeling might have been avoided.

As it was, the attempt to effect an arrangement by mutual agreement in a spirit of good will failed. There was fault on both sides. Gregory, influenced by the lay element among his council and also by his own too ardent patriotism, became more and more unwilling to make concessions. The Bulgarian leaders, on their side, were uncompromising and demanded at once all Macedonia and Greece which was inhabited by Slavs. The territory comprised in the plan of Gregory was somewhat more than that included in the Bulgaria of the Congress of Berlin, since the valley of the Morava which was in 1878 given to Serbia and the Dobroudja which was then given to Rumania were granted to the Bulgarian church.⁷

The Greeks felt that their "Grand Idea" was in danger. A few years before this one of the Greek deputies had said

What is happening in Crete and in Macedonia puts in peril the future of the fatherland and places an unbreakable barrier to the progress and to the grandeur of Greek civilization. Certain peoples who deserve not that one should pay any attention to them, peoples, who a short time ago considered it an honor to have a share in Hellenism, make themselves now blind and conscienceless instruments of the two anti-Greek propagandas (those of Russia and the Roman Catholic Church) and are doing everything possible to efface every trace of Hellenism from among them. Two hours distance from Salonica, gentlemen, in Constantinople, in fact, the Greek Church and the Greek nationality have become an object of derision and misrepresentation.⁸

The revolt in Crete which came in 1867 and 1868 had its effect on Bulgarian aspirations, as Turkey just then was in need of friends. A deputation of Bulgarians went to the grand vizier Aali Pasha and he told them that the Porte was disposed to recognize the Bulgarians as a nationality, but did not wish to interfere in religious differences. Nevertheless, she overcame her scruples and was induced to interfere. She made the following proposals:

⁷Radeff, *op cit*, p. 220

⁸*Ibid*, p. 207

- 1 Free election of their clergy by the Bulgarians
- 2 The churches which have been constructed at the expense of the Bulgarian population should be recognized as national property, and they should have the right of constructing new ones
- 3 In each diocese the metropolitan and the Bulgarian bishops should choose another residence than that of the high Greek prelates
- 4 A special synod for the Bulgarians presided over by a Bulgarian primate should have its seat at Constantinople
- 5 The spiritual supremacy of the patriarch should be recognized and his name mentioned during the divine service⁹

These proposals did not go far toward reconciling the Greeks and Bulgarians. Perhaps they were not designed to. In the first place, the third and fourth provisions were contradictory, inasmuch as at Constantinople both a Bulgarian and a Greek prelate were to have their residences. In the second place, the Turks were not supposed to reveal these proposals to the Bulgarians, yet Fuad Pasha, the Turkish foreign minister, did so, and later the Porte authorized their publication. Moreover, the Greeks were offended that the Porte should venture to interfere in their religious affairs. Gregory was also coming more and more under the influence of Greek nationalists. The situation was a difficult one for Ignatieff, who did not want to antagonize either the Bulgarians or the Greeks. He was accused by the Greek party of having suggested to the Porte the proposals it had made, though at this time he was genuinely anxious that the two parties should agree. The proposals were definitely rejected by the Greek party on the ground that they were contrary to religion, that they were "opposed not only to the canons of the church but in essence even to the spirit of Christianity, that is to say to the dogma of the faith."¹⁰ The principle of nationality ought not to take precedence over the ties of the church. These efforts at reconciliation having proved unsuccessful, it was next proposed that an ecumenical council should take the matter up. The Greek party and Ignatieff were in favor of this proposal, the latter, so that he might avoid the necessity of taking one side or the other in the controversy. The Turks opposed the council fearing that the Russians would have too much influence with it, and the Bulgarians opposed it because they feared it would decide against them. In fact the

⁹Troubetzkoi, *op cit*, pp 180-81

¹⁰*Ibid*, p 183

location of a Bulgarian metropolitan with his synod in Constantinople, where the Greek patriarch and his synod were located, was in direct contradiction to the twelfth canon of the fourth ecumenical council which declared that two bishoprics could not exist in the same place when the only distinction between the churches was that of race.¹¹ Accordingly, the Bulgarians, encouraged by the Turks, decided to become rebels and declare their independence of the Orthodox church. The archbishops of Philippopolis, of Sophia, and of Loftcha, who were Bulgarians, sent their resignations to the Greek patriarch and told him that they intended to reconstitute the ancient Bulgarian church. The Bulgarians hoped also for recognition by the Russian Holy Synod.

On the question of holding an ecumenical council, Ignatieff and the Holy Synod at St Petersburg did not agree. In support of his views, Ignatieff had written to the Russian government.

Our situation is very delicate. We cannot recognize the creation of a Bulgarian synod at Constantinople nor enter into communication with an autocephalous Bulgarian church before it is recognized by the patriarchate. Otherwise we shall alienate not only the ecumenical patriarch, but all the other patriarchs of the Orient as well as all the other Greeks. If, however, we do not recognize the Bulgarian hierarchy the Slavs will see in us enemies making common cause with the Greeks, moreover the Bulgarians would be perhaps tempted to follow suggestions from the Western Powers and the Turks and accept union with Rome.¹²

Such were the views of the Russian ambassador at Constantinople. The Holy Synod at St Petersburg agreed with him as to the desirability of reconciling the two parties but thought the holding of an ecumenical synod would make matters worse. "The convocation of an ecumenical council," they thought, "would entail consequences most unfortunate if the Bulgarians should show themselves recalcitrant to its decisions." In that case all hope of bringing things back to the right way would be lost. The Holy Synod was in favor of granting a certain degree of independence, but thought that as long as the Bulgarians did not have an independent state it was not fitting that they should have a church absolutely independent.¹³

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 184

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 186-87, Hajek, *op cit.*, pp. 213-14

¹³Troubetzkoi, *op cit.*, p. 185

Meantime, the position of Turkey had changed and she could act in a more independent manner. The Congress of the powers, meeting at Paris, had thought it best not to interfere in the Cretan affair. Turkey, therefore, did not feel the need any longer of catering to the desires of the Bulgarians. She was becoming more inclined to favor the Greeks, especially as the Greeks were then hostile to Russia. Accordingly, the Porte did not at this time urge the project she had put before the patriarch the year before. So that was dropped, and it was proposed that a mixed commission take up the matter. Accordingly, a commission of three Bulgarians and three Greeks was appointed, all laymen. That the results of their discussions turned out so favorably to the Bulgarians was due largely to the influence of Ignatieff. He was in close relations with Gabriel effendi Kras-tevitch, one of the Bulgarian members of the commission. Ignatieff's efforts were directed to the reconciliation of the two parties, and due, no doubt, in large measure to his influence, the commission came to an agreement. The plan they proposed was similar to the one agreed to by Gregory in 1867. It had been worked out by Gabriel effendi in collaboration with Ignatieff and was accepted with modifications by his colleagues. The territorial limits prescribed were more extensive than those offered by Gregory two years before, and were not exactly defined. The Bulgarian synod was not to have its seat at Constantinople, but in Tirnovo or Ochrida. Before the project could be put into effect, the consent of the patriarch had to be secured and that proved a difficult matter. The great obstacle was the clash of nationalities. The Bulgarians thought only of their desire to advance their aspirations for political independence, and the Greeks only of their fears that the establishment of an independent Bulgarian Church would stand in the way of the consummation of the Great Idea. In consequence of this dispute, the plan agreed upon by this commission was not accepted, and matters were again left up in the air.

A possibility hoped for by some of the Bulgarian leaders and feared by the Russian ambassador was the renewal of the proposition of the union of the Bulgarian Church with that of Rome. The Vatican Council was being held and there seemed a possibility that the minority, if the ultramontanes were in the major-

ity, would unite themselves with the church of the East. Just then the Protestant missionaries, too, seemed to be more than usually active Ignatieff consequently became more anxious than ever for a settlement which would quiet the restlessness of the Bulgarians

The agreement that proved to be impossible by consent of the Patriarch could be effected now only through the Porte That government now, as ever, was reluctant to come to a decision Certain events, however, acted as a spur to action. Because affairs in Egypt and in Montenegro were in a state of unrest, as they had been in Crete and Bulgaria itself three years before, and because the Bulgarians themselves were again restless, their leaders thought it a good time to make a demonstration to emphasize their demands. So an unusual number of complaints over the delay in settlement came from Bulgarian regions, and the bishops at Constantinople put what pressure they could upon the grand vizier, with the result, that on the twelfth of March, 1870, the firman constituting the Bulgarian national church was issued The provisions were as follows

1 There should be formed an ecclesiastical circumscription under the name of exarchate ¹⁴

2 Over this circumscription should be a synod presided over by a principal metropolitan who should have the title of exarch

3 The internal organization of the exarchate should set out to make a body of rules conformable to the canons of the Orthodox Church which should be agreed to by the Ottoman government The body of rules should be made on the principle of autonomy without reserving to the patriarch the right of intervening in spiritual affairs or in the elections of the bishops and the exarch The patriarch apprised by the synod of the election of the exarch should deliver without delay a letter of confirmation

4 The exarch named by a berat of the Sultan should mention during his term of office the patriarch of Constantinople as directed by the canons

5 The exarch should have the right to enter into relations with the Porte and the local authorities for all the affairs which pertain to them Only by their interposition could the bishops of his circumscription receive the berats of investiture

6, 7, and 8 Contain the rules concerning the relations between the exarchate and the patriarchate in spiritual matters The Bulgarian synod was to

¹⁴The Bulgarian exarchate included the following eparchies Rustchuk, Silistria, Shumla, (Sumen) Tirnovo, Sofia, Vratza, Loftcha, Vidin, Nish, Pirot, Kustendil, Samokov, Veles, Varna—without the cities of Varna and Kustendje, Sliven—without Mesembria and Anchalo, Sezopolis and Philippopolis—without the cities of those names, and a few other places

receive the Holy Eucharist from the ecumenical patriarch. Free passage for bishops going from either of the two churches to the circumscriptions of the other should be allowed.

9. After the example of the patriarch of Jerusalem, who has a house with a chapel in the Phanar, the Bulgarian exarch should have in the same locality a church and a chapel which he can use each time when he has to attend to affairs in Constantinople.

10. The dioceses forming the new circumscription were to be named as in the project of the mixed commission. If the Orthodox inhabitants of a locality (besides those which are enumerated) express the desire unanimously, or even by two-thirds of the population, of affiliating with the Bulgarian exarchate, and if the justice of their demand is recognized, such diocese should be granted.

11. The organization of the monasteries which are within the circumscription of the exarchate was not to be changed.¹⁵

The promulgation of the firman came as a disagreeable surprise to the Greeks at Constantinople, and no one except the Russian ambassâdor seems to have expected the Porte to take action just at that time. Ignatieff had been urging the Porte to come to a decision, but he was not taken into their confidence as to the tenor of the firman and could not approve of the parts which were contrary to the rights of the ecumenical patriarch. In regard to the settlement of the question thus brought about, the Russian ambassador wrote to the office of foreign affairs at St. Petersburg:

For my part, I admit that an arrangement made directly without the intervention of the Turkish government certainly seemed preferable, but I am obliged to agree at the same time now that that entente is established, it could not have been done without the sanction of a governmental firman, and that it would have encountered difficulties greater, if not insurmountable, from the side of the Porte and the Western powers. As for the Porte, it is worth while to observe that in yielding the firman to the Bulgarians, it has been brought to recognize the same principle of nationality that it has been so careful to exclude up to this time from the factors which constitute its internal organization. It today admits the enunciation of the popular desires as a basis for the separation of Slavs and Greeks. In short, one is permitted to consider the outcome which has resulted as a happy crowning of five years of efforts on our part.¹⁶

The Russian ambassador congratulated himself too soon. The controversy was not settled. The Patriarch claimed that the Porte had exceeded its authority and had included in the firman establishing the Bulgarian exarchate provisions out of its

¹⁵This is taken from Troubetzkoi. The text is in Baker, "Turkey in Europe", Noradounghian, *Recueil des actes internationaux*, IV, 492-95.

¹⁶Troubetzkoi, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-400.

sphere, and that, although the Turkish government had no right to violate the laws and canons of the ecumenical church, it had so done. In a message sent to the Porte the Patriarch said "The Patriarchate cannot submit to a political ultimatum in a question purely religious, and all the more when the provisions of that document are notoriously contrary to the holy canons, as well as to the rights and privileges of the Church."¹⁷ The two features of the firman most objectionable to the Patriarch and to the Greek party were, first, the almost complete breaking of the tie between the patriarchate and the exarchate and, secondly, the wide territorial limits granted to the Bulgarians together with the provision that new districts might be added by vote of two-thirds of the voting population. Gregory demanded of the Porte that it permit an ecumenical council to be held to determine whether the patriarchate could accept the firman. A little later Gregory resigned, not being able to get the consent of the government to the council, and seeing no other way in which he could serve the cause. Anthimos, who had already twice occupied the office, succeeded him.

As in the case of his predecessor, Anthimos, when he first came into office, was inclined to be conciliatory and to make a real effort to come to terms with the Bulgarians. He made many concessions. The Russian ambassador, for his part, as before the issue of the firman, was anxious to prevent a breach between his two protégés. But the Greek nationalists on the one side, and the Bulgarian on the other proved intractable. Bulgarian radicals capped the climax by working up a demonstration in which three of their bishops, accompanied by a crowd of supporters, went to the residence of the Patriarch at nine o'clock in the evening and demanded from him canonical sanction for the bishops to perform their sacred offices on the next day, which was Epiphany. The sanction, demanded in such a way, was not given, but the bishops celebrated mass in the neighborhood of Constantinople notwithstanding. This act of rebellion on the part of the Bulgarians seems to have been planned for the express purpose of preventing an agreement between the Patriarch and the more moderate members of the Bulgarian party. At any rate, that was the result. The Patri-

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 400-401.

arch's good will was forfeited and the moderate Bulgarian faction withdrew from association with their recalcitrant comrades. With so much feeling on both sides, it was impossible for moderate counsels to prevail. The Greek press vigorously denounced the conduct of the Bulgarians, and the Bulgarians in Odessa sent letters urging their compatriots on the ground to persist in their course. The Russian ambassador tried to reconcile the two parties and prevent a breach in the Orthodox faith, but it was in vain.¹⁸

Sentiment in the autocephalous churches of the East was strongly against the Bulgarian party. Sure of almost unanimous support, the party of the Phanar called for an assembly of all the heads of the autocephalous churches and of the bishops of the ecumenical patriarchate. This was not an ecumenical council, for none could be held without the consent of the Porte. Its consent was, however, obtained for this less authoritative council.

Meantime the breach had been made wider by the action of the Bulgarians. With the sanction of the Porte, they had elected their exarch and their bishops were consecrating more bishops. In September, 1872, the Bulgarian Church was proclaimed schismatic by the assembly of bishops and patriarchs, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, only, objecting. Perhaps he was under the influence of the Russian ambassador, as his colleagues thought, or it may be he had a clearer vision of the situation than the rest and saw that selfish interests had more to do with the decision of the council than devotion to the welfare of the church. The words of the act proclaiming the schism really condemned those who passed it, as well as the Bulgarians. "We denounce with disapprobation and condemnation philetisms, that is, the distinctions by race, the conflicts, the quarrels, the jealousies and the national divisions in the Church of Christ."¹⁹ Ignatieff tried, even after this, to reconcile the two parties, but

¹⁸Ignatieff's indignation at the conduct of the Bulgarian extremists and the three bishops who acted with them is expressed in a letter he wrote. "I am under no illusion," he said, "as to the future of a hierarchy whose membership is made up of elements like those we have seen at work. Bishops so unworthy will always be incapable of founding an Orthodox Church which deserves the name." *Трубетzkoi, op cit*, p. 409.

¹⁹*Ibid*, p. 414.

it was in vain. He had thought it in the interests of Russia that he should be impartial and should bring them to an agreement, believing, however, that no agreement was possible without recognizing the Bulgarian aspirations. After the final breach, when he had to take sides, he held with the exarchate and encouraged their aspirations to political freedom. Indeed he not only encouraged it, but stimulated it, as will be seen later. The policy of the Russian Holy Synod had been, as we have seen, somewhat different from that of the Russian ambassador. That body had thought it wise to express no opinion on the conflict between the Greeks and the Bulgarians, for the reason that they foresaw that any advice they might give contrary to the will of the Patriarch of Constantinople would be disregarded. Other European powers represented in Constantinople seem to have taken no interest in the Bulgarian exarchate. Of course always, as well as during this crisis, the Russian interests were more concerned in Turkish affairs than those of other powers, but in the next crisis, other European powers, as well, especially England, became deeply concerned. On this phase of Turkish history, however, Sir Henry Elliot, who was British ambassador at the Porte from 1867 to 1876, has nothing to say in his reminiscences.

The Turkish government did not seem to see the possible consequences of the formation of an independent Bulgarian Church. Perhaps they thought that Bulgarian nationalism would be satisfied with the freedom thus gained, and would not regard the independence of the patriarch of Constantinople as merely a step toward independence of the sultan of Turkey. In 1870, many other subjects of the Porte had patriarchs of their own, yet remained subjects of the sultan. The Bulgarians themselves, the Porte may have remembered, for many years had had a church largely independent of the patriarch of Constantinople.

CHAPTER III

REVOLTS AND ATROCITIES

In the years immediately preceding the insurrections in Herzegovina and Bosnia and the atrocities in Bulgaria, there was not much interest among outside nations in the Eastern Question, except in Russia. England was going along under a policy of isolation. Gladstone was prime minister and engrossed in domestic problems. France had lately been beaten by Prussia, consequently her hands were full with the indemnity to be raised, and her government to be stabilized. Austria, Germany, and Russia, in 1878, formed the League of the Three Emperors. It was understood that Russia was to have her own way with the Poles, that Russia was not to interfere in the Balkan States contrary to the interests of Austria, and that neither was to encourage liberal movements to the detriment of the other.¹ Austria under the direction of the Hungarian statesman Andrássy was ready when the time should come to take an active part in Eastern problems. Russia could never afford to let go her grip on Turkish affairs.

Russian policy during this time was much affected by the Pan Slavic or Pan Slavonic movement, which manifested itself in various ways. The Pan Slavic Congress at Prague in 1848 will be remembered. The Czechs took an active part in promoting the idea at that time. The Slovak, Kollár, between 1832 and 1849, wrote poems to inspire his fellow Slavs. Their theme is "Slaveeja, dearest mother, arise! Show thy face to the world and gather together thy children."² In Russia the Slavic ideal had a different meaning. To the Austrian Slav it meant freedom from the Hapsburg domination, to the Russian it meant the extension of Russian domination. The Russian could not think of a Pan Slavic state with Russia taking a place in it as an equal and not as a superior. Among the numerous titles of the Tsar was that of Prince of Bulgaria, and Russian patriots in the time of Nicholas I delighted in recalling that title.³ Some found

¹J. Larmeroux, *Politique extérieure de l'Autriche-Hongrie*, I, ix.

²E. L. Mijatovich, in *Fortnightly Review*, July, 1873, p. 94.

³Klaczko, in *Revue des deux mondes*, June 15, 1842, p. 932.

a bond of union in language, one writer trying to prove that all Slavic dialects were as nearly alike as those of the ancient Greek had been, and that therefore they might readily become fused into one Slavic speech, this to be the Russian, as the true Slavic language. Others found the bond of union in the Greek Orthodox Church. Dostoevsky prophesied that Russia's mission was to convert Roman Catholics to Greek Orthodoxy, Romanism being too material a faith.

In 1867 was held at Moscow a Pan Slavic Congress recalling the famous Congress at Prague in 1848. It was, however, not a Congress in form but a scientific gathering, a meeting of the Society of Natural Sciences to which Slavs were invited from various countries. The Russian government had no official connection with the meeting, but gave it its sanction and allowed free transportation on its railroads to those who were invited. They came from everywhere except from Poland, which was not, for reasons well known, on good terms with Russia. The Pan Slavic ideal was expressed in a speech at a meeting of the Congress by a Czech visitor, Rieger.

The Slavs are the most numerous nation of Europe. But, alas, that nation is not the first. We find the cause of that situation in the fact that they are members of a race which is widely dispersed. Each group has had to struggle against a separate enemy, one against the Magyar, another against the German, a third against the Tatar. But when the sun shall rise upon Slav solidarity, when we shall have recognized that we are only one people, when we shall have learned to sustain ourselves mutually, we shall be a great nation in reality, as we are in numbers.⁴

Again M. Rieger showed himself a good Russian Pan Slavist.

All nations manifest their greatness upon the world's theatre in succession. It is now the turn of the Slavon. It is for you, Russia, now to take the offensive.

A Czech poet spoke of the "tsar liberateur." "And these words," he said, "will make free the border lands of Russia."⁶

The Russian historian Pogodine hoped for union on the basis of a common language. "We observe," he said, "that our Congress may be the commencement of constant relations in the interest of science, of industry, of commerce, of colonization, and that all the Slavs having in view a common end, will adopt a common language."

⁴L. Leger, *Le Panslavisme*, p. 216.

⁶"The Eastern Question," in *Eclectic*, Vol. 70, p. 702.

A prominent advocate of the extension of Russian influence was General Fadieff, who, two years after this Moscow Congress, published a little book which was translated into English and attained considerable notoriety. The General was a thorough Pan Slavist. He urged that the Slavonian movement be supported by intellectual means. If Russia has need of men of learning, he would obtain them from Slavonian sources. Russian literature, he says, should be disseminated among Western Slavs. Russians should be made acquainted with the Slavonian world. Slavonian chairs of history, statistics, etc., should be established in Russian universities and upper schools on an equality with Russian chairs. The service of Russia, particularly on the military side, should be open to Slavs of foreign origin, Greeks and Roumanians to be included.⁶ Constantinople should become, he thought, the free city of a tribal union.⁷ The great Eastern family should consolidate its union by a "community of thrones in one dynasty."⁸ To realize these ambitions a display of force would be needed, he thought, for Turkey and Austria would oppose such extensions of Russian power.

Ideas such as these were in the minds of influential Russians during the period with which we are concerned. Ignatieff was a thorough Pan Slavist, and he did what he could to carry out a Pan Slavic programme. There was a good deal going on in the Balkan regions in the time from 1867 to 1876 for which Russian officials were responsible. For Russian propaganda in the Balkans, an organization was formed with headquarters at Moscow, a subcommittee at Vienna, and other committees or agencies on the ground. For example, in December, 1872, orders were given for an organizing committee to be constituted at Mount Athos. Its mission was to be

1 To establish, in the convent named Roussikon, a depot of arms and munitions of war

2 To send into Macedonia, Thrace, Bulgaria, and Old Servia, emissaries charged to distribute books and money, and to send partizans of the Slavic cause and volunteers for the patriotic movement

3 To establish in the peninsula of Athos, Russian and Bulgarian colonies, with a view to transforming that territory into an essentially Slavic country.

⁶Fadieff, *The Eastern Question*, p. 62

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 98

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 100

To this end you will neglect no means to dispossess the Greeks within the space of some years of all the convents and lands of Athos which still remain in their possession

The central committee at Moscow goes on with further promises and directions. The Organizing Committee was to have at its disposal annually the sum of 50,000 roubles, the employment of which was to be controlled by the Imperial Embassy at Constantinople

The direction of the Committee will be confided to the Imperial Consul at Salonica, who will be bound to reside during half the year at Athos. In his absence the Presidency will pass to the Rev. Father Hieronymus to whom will be adjoined three of the monks whom you have recommended to the protection of the Committee, namely the Fathers Macarius (of Roussikon) and Benjamin and Stephen (of Lavra) *

A little before this, in August, the central committee had ordered the establishment of an agency at Vidin, and 5,000 roubles was to be allowed for maintenance up to January 1, 1873.

In the book by Giacometti, from which these communications are taken, are other documents which show some particulars of the working of the system ¹⁰ On the 8th of October, 1872, the Moscow committee had a meeting at which, among other things, they showed interest in "Slavic pupils newly arrived in Russia, and admitted to crown schools." A portrait of Anthimos was presented to the committee, sent with the blessing of His Holiness. It was decided that copies of this portrait should be made and distributed widely among friends of the Bulgarian cause. It was also resolved to address a letter to the exarch "expressing thanks and sympathy with his cause and especial fraternal sentiments toward Bulgarians who hold firmly aloft the Slavic flag against the intrigues of the Phanariotes." In secret session of this same date, their expenses are given 21,000 roubles for the maintenance of 216 bursars, presumably pupils in Russian schools, 15,000 roubles for the ordinary expenses for permanent agents in the Slavic provinces of Austria and Turkey (65 persons), 2,500 roubles for extraordinary expenses for emissaries in Bulgaria, Galicia, Bohemia, and Hun-

*G. Giacometti, *Russia's Work in Turkey*, pp. 39-40. (Dispatch from the central committee to the consul at Salonica.)

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 49

garian Russia¹¹ Prayer books and money were contributed on other occasions for the benefit of the Orthodox Church in Bulgaro-Serbian territory.¹²

Moral support was also given A dispatch from the Moscow committee to the Vienna committee enjoins them to assure all agencies and subcommittees that, notwithstanding the League of the Three Emperors, Russia is not abandoning the cause of her brother Slavs Those secular enemies of Slavism, the Poles, represented things otherwise It is promised that "Russia will never leave her brethren by race without aid and assistance and she remains as in the past, ready for any sacrifice in order to insure them a future worthy of the race to which we have all of us the happiness to belong"¹³

In 1872 and 1873, arms were sent to Serbia and Montenegro. It was reported in February of the latter year that arms furnished by members of the imperial family for Serbia got to Belgrade without arousing suspicion, and a letter from Prince Nicholas of Montenegro to the Grand Duke Nicholas, showed that Russia was furnishing him arms in large quantities In acknowledging them he said "My people, Monseigneur, rests its whole hope on the magnanimous heart of the great emperor of Russia, the All Powerful Father and Protector of the Slavic family"¹⁴

Turkey had her suspicions, and it was reported by the committee in Russia that Turkey was making an investigation in Vidin and Rustchuk, and that it was best just then to send emissaries into other places Later she got hold of these documents published by M Giacommetti, and after some delay ventured to make them public

These intrigues of Russian officials and agents, the making war "incognito," gave the enemies of Russia an opportunity they were looking for to condemn her and excuse Turkey When, therefore, the insurrections broke out in Herzegovina and Bulgaria in 1875 and 1876, they held Russia chiefly responsible. It was a practice cut out of the same cloth as the later sub-

¹¹*Ibid*, pp 50-51

¹²*Ibid*, p 47

¹³*Ibid*, p 49

¹⁴*Ibid*, pp 59-60

ventions to the French press inducing them to write articles favoring subscriptions to Russian bonds and advocating the Dual Alliance ¹⁵ Perhaps the chief difference was that in the seventies the Russians were plotting against a government, while in the nineties they plotted against a people. In either case it was damaging to have their secret practices become known, and they did not intend that this should happen. Ignatieff, who, of course, was concerned in these underhand dealings, was in special favor at this time with Turkey, for we are told that he was given in 1873, the insignia of the order of Osmanie set in diamonds, a favor never conferred before on an ambassador to the Porte ¹⁶

The Bulgarians themselves were active in their own behalf. In 1867, contemporaneously with the troubles in Crete, there were uprisings in Bulgaria. Serbian help was again expected. A South Slav tsardom was contemplated with Michael Obienovitch at the head. The band of rebels was dispersed after a bloody fight and Midhat Pasha, at that time making for himself a reputation as a reforming Turk, was responsible for a frightful inquest from which many innocent Bulgarians suffered ¹⁷ During the later sixties and early seventies the promotion of the Bulgarian revolutionary movement became the object of leaders of importance. One of these leaders was the patriotic poet, Rakovski, who died in 1867. In the previous year there had been founded a Revolutionary Committee for freeing Bulgaria with its headquarters at Bucharest. Rakovski was their first leader and the inspirer of their enthusiasm and activities. He would accomplish his object by a Balkan league such as was achieved in 1912. Roumania and Serbia, he hoped, would take up the Bulgarian cause and make it their own. There were in Bucharest at the same time, that is, in the sixties, two other groups besides the one with which Rakovski worked, one looking to Russia for deliverance, and the other proposing to establish a Bulgaria with the sultan as tsar. This second group hoped to unite their country to Turkey by a personal union, Dualists, they were called. Rakovski stood aloof from both these

¹⁵It must not be supposed that Russia is the only power guilty of this practice. See G. L. Dickinson, *International Anarchy*, p. 44.

¹⁶*Times*, Oct. 25, 1873, p. 3.

¹⁷Hajek, *Bulgarien unter der Turkensschaft*, p. 234 ff.

groups.¹⁸ He was a hater of Russia, believing her selfish.¹⁹ After his death in 1867, he was succeeded by two of his countrymen, Lubin Karaveloff and Vassil Levski, a former monk. Karaveloff, himself an editor, spread his ideas and worked for his ideals through newspapers, and by personal contact, mostly in Bucharest. Levski was most zealous in the cause. "We will shed instead of tears bullets, our hope is in aims," he wrote in a letter. He was for a universal revolution, the ousting of Turkey from the whole Balkan peninsula and the setting up of a "democratic republic."²⁰ In 1871, he and Karaveloff founded a new Revolutionary Committee to go from group to group and perfect their organization. There was to be a kind of provisional government for Bulgaria with its secret police and its secret post.²¹ The president and vice president both were dignified with the title of marshal. The committee of which they were leaders was composed of thirty to forty persons and had oversight of subcommittees in various Roumanian cities. These subcommittees worked with other committees or agents in Bulgarian territory. The purposes of the organization were to accustom the people to a revolt against the Turks, to see to the procuring of weapons, and to collect funds to be forwarded to the committee at Bucharest. When the day for action should come they had a plan worked out by which all Bulgarian patriots should rise and gather at the sound of the church bells, set fire to their own and Turkish villages, then surprise and disarm Turkish garrisons. Slavic Roumelia was to be divided up into districts with a special agent over each who was to act as a governor and establish a provisional government. These agents put themselves into communication with the Herzegovinian and Bosnian leaders as well as with Serbian and Russian agents.²² At the end of 1872 everything was supposed to be ready for a universal rising, and there was encouragement from the Serbian government. But Levski's plans were upset and the whole movement brought to an end by an adventurer who robbed a Turkish transport, was

¹⁸Radeff, *La Macédoine et la renaissance bulgare, au XIX^e siècle*, p. 226 ff.

¹⁹Hajek, *op cit*, p. 222.

²⁰Hajek, *op cit*, p. 241.

²¹*Ibid*, p. 242.

²²Bugistre-Belleysan, *Intrigues Muscovites*, pp. 136-38, Stanef, *Geschichte der Bulgaren*, pp. 71-72, Hajek, *op cit*, p. 240.

caught, and was induced to tell all he knew of Levski's plans. A little later Levski was betrayed by a trusted follower and put to death. Other leaders, however, carried on the work zealously, but ineffectively.

So the stage was set for the reappearance of the Eastern Question. Those on the ground, Turkish subjects themselves, were prepared to take an active part, as they had not been prepared twenty years before when the Crimean War was fought. We must not, however, make the mistake of thinking that the desire to engage in war against the Turkish government was universal in European Turkey. The more prosperous classes were opposed to any conspiracy. In Bulgaria it is probable that only a small minority was ready for violence. The outbreaks against Turkey began in Herzegovina in July, 1875. Turkey was not able to take the field and put down the insurrection promptly and the disorder spread, involving Bosnia. It seemed necessary for the European Powers to interfere and to decide on a method of procedure, since the Porte was not able to handle the situation to the satisfaction of any one.

Russia, of course, was most interested. How much the revolt was due to the intrigues and how much to intolerable conditions under Turkish rule, no one can say. It is hard to say also how much Russia's interest was due to selfish ambitions and how much to genuine sympathy for her Slav brothers. No doubt there was some unselfish interest, especially among the Russian people, and no doubt there was some selfish ambition, especially in government and military circles. The Russian government felt, and perhaps ought to have felt, some responsibility for the welfare of fellow members of the Orthodox faith and the Slavic race. We can say, I think, that Russia was glad because of the outbreaks in the Balkan peninsula and that she hoped to profit by them; but that she hoped also that her fellow Slavs would profit too. The Russian representative at Constantinople from 1864 to 1877 was General Ignatieff. We have seen the important part he played in the Bulgarian efforts to win independence for their church. He was a clever diplomat, perhaps too clever, for he was not trusted by his fellow diplomats, who called him "Father of Lies." At any rate, he was an ardent Russian, anxious to promote the interests of his country.

Austria-Hungary, too, was deeply concerned in the Balkan peninsula. Bosnia and Herzegovina were on her borders and their inhabitants were closely related to Austrian and Hungarian subjects. The foreign office was at this time in the control of Count Andrassy. As a Magyar aristocrat, he had no high opinion of the Slavic race. To him was largely due the thwarting of Czech plans to make the Dual Monarchy a triple state. Andrassy is sometimes represented as a tool of Ignatieff, and sometimes it is said that he used Russia to further Austrian interests.²³ The truth would seem to be that the alliance of Austria and Russia at this time was the cause of the extension of the influence of both countries in the Balkan region. Andrassy was not always firm in his devotion to the alliance with Russia.

Great Britain was represented at this time at Constantinople by Sir Henry Elliott, an experienced, hard-working diplomat, whose course, however, during the crisis of 1876 was severely criticised. Lord Derby was foreign secretary, and Disraeli, prime minister, the former, cautious, the latter, brilliant, and prone to take too bold a course. Disraeli was developing an intense interest in the colonial and foreign concerns of the British Empire. He was resolved that Great Britain should not continue to occupy the inconspicuous place in world affairs which she had held under his rival, Gladstone. Bismarck was, during this period, at the height of his prestige and power and was a personage to be reckoned with. He was not, however, directly interested in Balkan affairs. He was in a position, according to his own well-known phrase, to act as "an honest broker."

In 1875 and the first half of 1876, Bulgaria was not the center of interest in Eastern affairs. Nevertheless it will help us to understand diplomatic action concerning that region if we follow briefly the course taken by the European powers with regard to the outbreak in Herzegovina and Bosnia. On December 30, 1875, was issued a statement by the three emperors known as the Andrassy note. That document simply made recommendations to Turkey for the settlement of the troubles. The European Powers approved them, and Turkey agreed to them some-

²³ Larmeroux, *op cit*, p. 1, Sir Henry Elliot, *Some Revolutions and other Diplomatic Experiences*, p. 201 ff.

what reluctantly, but the insurgents who at that time were getting the best of the Turks, refused to lay down their arms without some guarantee that Turkey would keep the terms of the agreement. They had had experience with Turkish firman, hattis, and irades, and were unwilling to give up their struggle for freedom upon the mere issuance of another scrap of paper. On March 10, 1876, they published a proclamation containing their refusal and expressing their reliance upon help from their fellow Slavs of Russia and Serbia. "We can lay down our arms," they say, "only if we are accorded an autonomy similar to that which Montenegro enjoys. We hope, we expect, we are certain, that the powerful, brave, and glorious Russia, will come to assure the liberty of the Serbo-slavs. We do not refuse the help of other European powers, and we hope that that aid will not fail us."²⁴

So the revolt continued, and in the next few months things happened to make the situation ten times worse. In the summer of 1876, Bulgaria became the centre of anxious attention on the part of the European Powers. Before that, however, the Powers made another attempt to settle the troubles in Herzegovina and Bosnia. Again it was the three emperors who worked out a programme to apply to the situation. It was Gortchakoff this time who was allowed to propose the solution. The document drawn up by the Russian diplomat was put forth on May 13, 1876. It was sanctioned by his Austrian and Prussian colleagues and is known as the Berlin Memorandum. It was also agreed to by France and Italy. Great Britain, however, refused to accept it. Its distinctive feature was the proposal to use force upon Turkey to assure genuine reforms, and Great Britain would not consent to such a violation of the sovereignty of Turkey. It would be a breach of the Treaty of Paris of 1856. The British prime minister thought that the "efficacious measures" recommended would be efficacious in breaking up the Turkish Empire.²⁵ Moreover, British honor which the ministry of that period guarded jealously, would be violated if they accepted a policy about which they had not been consulted. "It is almost a mockery," Disraeli said to his cabinet.

²⁴Larmeroux, *op cit*, p. 28

²⁵Buckle, *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, VI, 25

inet, "for them to talk of a desire that the Powers should act in concert, and then exclude France, Italy and England from their deliberations and ask us by telegraph to say yes or no to propositions which we have never heard discussed" ²⁶

The rejection of the Berlin Memorandum by Great Britain seems to have had the result of inspiring in Turkey an undue confidence in England's support no matter what happened. For this result, Great Britain was blamed. Lord Odo Russell, British minister at Berlin, feared grave consequences on account of the rejection of the Berlin note. Queen Victoria was for a while anxious about the matter and Gladstone, most of all, condemned the decision of the government. However, public opinion was mostly in favor of Disraeli's policy at the time. ²⁷ In view of what happened in this same month of May, 1876, it was unfortunate that the British government should place itself on the side of the Turks against the other Powers. However, it was nothing new for England to stand for the integrity of Turkey, and it should be remembered that the Berlin Memorandum was issued before the Bulgarian atrocities were known. In this same month took place also the murder of the French and German consuls in Salonika by a Turkish mob, indignant that Europeans should attempt to rescue a Bulgarian girl from her ravishers, and on May 30th occurred the deposition of the Sultan Abdul Aziz. The change in the Turkish ruler, it was hoped for a short time, would lead to real reform.

The Berlin Memorandum did not concern Bulgaria directly. But in the summer of 1876, and from that time on for two years, the Eastern Question was very largely the Bulgarian Question. We have seen how the lines were laid by a few Bulgarian leaders who had the sympathy and help of Russian agents. There were slight outbreaks easily suppressed before May, 1876. ²⁸ In that month they became more serious. The hope was to free the

²⁶*Ibid*, pp 24-25

²⁷*Ibid*, p 26 ff

²⁸The proclamation issued to Bulgarian cities and villages closed as follows "From today on, we make known in the name of the Bulgarian people before all the world that we demand Freedom or death to the people! Forward, forward, Brother, God is with us." As a signal for revolt, blood letters were sent around with a design, usually a cross, made with the blood of the first Turk killed. Hajek, *op. cit*, pp 262-64, note

Slavs from the Adriatic to the Danube, and when victory was obtained to establish three kingdoms. an enlarged Montenegro comprising besides Montenegro, Herzegovina, and a part of Albania; a Greater Serbia including Bosnia, and a new Bulgaria extending from Novi-Bazar to Thessaly Prince Nicholas was to remain ruler of Montenegro and Prince Milan, of Serbia, but there was no ruler named for Bulgaria. The three states were to form a confederation and were to engage to help each other in time of war ²⁹

The revolt began on May 1. A few Turkish officials were killed and a few Turkish villages were burned. The rising was by no means so extensive as the promoters hoped. Many of those relied upon did not appear on the stage for action. For example, of the sixteen men designated for the burning of Philippopolis, nine deserted ³⁰. The revolt was put down easily. The Turks, however, alarmed at the extension of disorder from Bosnia and Herzegovina to other parts of their domain, were not satisfied at the suppression of the few outbreaks which occurred, they were bound to teach their rebellious subjects a lesson and to make sure that there would be no chance of another insurrection. So the Bulgarian atrocities resulted ³¹

²⁹Bugistre-Belleysan, *op cit*, p. 138.

³⁰Extract from *Levant Herald* in Mills', *Ottomans in Europe*, p. 148

³¹The autobiography of Zachary Stoyanoff makes vivid what the rising of 1876 meant to the Bulgarians who took part in it: the confidence of the leaders, the timidity of most of the peasants, the hostility of the trading classes, the elation of the conspirators for the nine days before the Turkish soldiers and bashi-bazouks were able to repress their little rebellion, the adventures and near starvation of the fugitives, and the barbarities of the Turks toward their prisoners.

The Bulgarians did not expect to accomplish their purpose without bloodshed. Berkoffski, one of their ablest and most forceful leaders, says, "the slave of 500 years can do nothing until he is bloodied."

The faith of the peasant in Russia is illustrated by a conversation the writer heard. "I expect now if the truth was known, Russia was behind all this business of yours?" said the oldest of the three, pointing to the north. "We're all her children, you know, it's to her we look to free us from the infidels."

"But Russia's the country where they keep the faith and God's laws. I've heard tell by popes and old people as how that's where the True Cross is kept, and also the wooden sword of the Blessed Virgin that the Turks had when they took Stamboul. That's why no soldiers can stand against her Christian armies! The Cross is in front of their cannon when they march!" Zachary Stoyanoff, *Pages from the Autobiography of a Bulgarian Insurgent* (London, 1913), p. 198.

The scene of the uprising was not in Bulgaria proper, that is, in the Bulgaria of the Congress of Berlin, but in the district south of the Balkans whose chief city was Philippopolis. It is not our purpose to describe it, but to trace its effect upon opinion, public and diplomatic, and upon the course of events which were directed by the European chancelleries. The massacres and attendant horrors were atrocious, there can be no doubt about that. However, the news of them came to the civilized world very slowly, and when it came it was hard to believe, especially for the British representatives. How the news trickled into Constantinople may be gathered from the Journal of the American, H. O. Dwight, who was residing there at the time. Under the entry, May 9th, we read "The Government gives no information whatever of the situation in Bulgaria. The Bulgarians of the city are jubilant, believing that suppressed news must be favorable to their people." On May 13th, "The papers publish some details from Bulgaria." On May 14, "The Turkish papers now give more news from Bulgaria. It seems that the troops have bombarded a church at Perushtitza, near Philippopolis, and that in consequence, six hundred Bulgarians have surrendered." Other particulars were given but nothing of unusual cruelties. May 18th, "The official dispatches announce more victories in Bulgaria." On May 19th, there were "More victorious bulletins from the Turkish army in Bulgaria. The Turks are elated and pray lustily for divine aid to their troops. The Bulgarians of the city are correspondingly dejected, but still hope that these official bulletins lie." On this day there is a hint of irregularities: "The city (Adrianople) is full of wild ruffians, Circassians, and others, who are on their way to Bulgaria to fight as volunteers,—that is to say, under no orders, and under no organization. The presence of these people in Adrianople is leading the Christians to place their valuables in the heavy stone Hans for safe keeping in case of a riot." Under the entry for May 29th, we read "The whole Bulgarian rebellion was ended a week or more ago, but for some inscrutable reason, dispatches announcing the fact were withheld from publication by the Government." It was not until June 1st, that Mr. Dwight heard anything of atrocities.

It seems that the Bulgarian revolt has been the excuse for fearful outrages by the Turks. The Turks have acted with perfect ferocity toward the

Bulgarians, but despots are never wont to treat rebels with leniency. The Pan-Slavist agitators ought to have remembered this, and have taken pity on the women and children before teaching these ignorant peasants that it was their duty to revolt for the good of the cause.³²

News came to Sir Henry Elliot in much the same way, but he took them more exclusively from the Turks perhaps, for he heard a good deal about outrages by Bulgarian insurgents, and little for some time about those of the Turks. However, he feared excesses in putting down the revolt when he learned that bashi-bazouks were to be used.

I again and again protested to the Porte against the employment of irregulars, whose excesses I had foreseen and attempted to guard against even before the rumour of any having been committed had reached me or any of my colleagues at Constantinople.³³

Mr Dwight, on June 1st, had a good many particulars of Turkish barbarities, but Sir Henry says

It was not, in fact, till the middle of June, six weeks after we first heard of the outbreak, that any particulars of the occurrences arrived there, when a dispatch from the Vice-Consul at Adrianople which in the ordinary routine of the service ought at once to have been committed to me, was improperly withheld from me, and given to the correspondent of the *Daily News*.

He resented the charge of his negligence.

Every scrap of information that reached me was at once sent home, and my published dispatches of May 28, June 8 and 19, reported the repeated protests I had been making against the employment of bashi-bazouks, who, I said, had been acting with cruelty and brutality.³⁴

Mr Maynard, United States minister, however, says that Bulgarians "placed in the hands of Sir Henry Elliot, much documentary and other evidence of the treatment to which Bulgaria had been subjected. He did not appear to regard it as authentic."³⁵ The truth is that the Tory government in power in England at this time was reluctant to believe anything very much to the discredit of the Turks. Sir Henry Elliot acted at times as confidential adviser of the Porte, and had been urging prompt and decisive measures for the suppression of the Bulgarian revolt.

³²H. G. Dwight, *Turkish Life in War Time*, p. 4 ff.

³³Sir Henry Elliot, *op cit.*, pp. 259-60.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 260.

³⁵*Senate Executive Document No. 24, 44th Congress, 2nd Session, II, 2*

When the first detailed account of the cruel suppression of the Bulgarian revolt was published in the *Daily News* of June 23rd, the government was as much surprised apparently as the public. On June 26th Disraeli was asked in Parliament about the report, and he said that "the information which the government had received did not justify the statements in the *Daily News*."³⁶ The account was written by Edwin Pears, who after this became one of the leading authorities on Turkish affairs. Mr. Gallenga, correspondent of the *Times*, sent a report at the same time, but that paper did not see fit to publish it.³⁷ The *Daily News* was Liberal, being the leading opposition sheet. Later when more details had been published, Disraeli maintained about the same attitude. The reports in the papers, however, produced a much greater effect on the public, and were very damaging to the party in power, and especially to the upholding of the Turkish government which depended so much for support upon Great Britain. Harcourt expressed Liberal sentiment when he said on August 11, in Parliament, that European opinion would support any power that "would emancipate Europe from the curse which afflicted her and redeem Christendom from the shame by which she had been too long dishonored."³⁸ It was a little less than a month after this that Gladstone came out with his famous pamphlet. By that time the newspaper reports had been confirmed by those of the American, Eugene Schuyler, and of Walter Baring who had been commissioned by Sir Henry Elliot to make an investigation of the alleged barbarities of the Turks.³⁹ Both of these men were men of honor, and were sent to the scene of events. Their reports agreed substantially and confirmed accounts already published. Schuyler estimated the number of Bulgarians killed, men,

³⁶Buckle, *op cit*, p. 43.

³⁷Robert College people had details of the atrocities. They first told Sir Henry Elliot, and also Mr. Pears of the *Daily News*, and Mr. Gallenga of the *Times*. (Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople*, p. 104.) Mr. McGahan, who investigated the massacres in the places where they occurred is sometimes credited with the *Daily News* account of June 23.

³⁸Buckle, *op cit*, VI, 47.

³⁹Baring's official report was not published until September 19th, the preliminary report had been issued in August.

women, and children, at 15,000, and Baring at 12,000⁴⁰ Baring was perhaps a little more inclined than Schuyler to blame the Bulgarians and Russians who instigated the insurrection. Schuyler found proof of the Bulgarians having killed two women. He found evidence of no violations, nor of any Mussulman having been tortured, of any purely Turkish village attacked or burned, of any Mussulman house pillaged, nor of any mosque destroyed or desecrated⁴¹ The Turks also sent official investigators, one Edib Effendi, who reported a "tissue of falsehoods," and later Blacque Bey, late Ottoman minister to the United States, whose report was said to confirm those of Baring and Schuyler, although it was not published⁴² When Gladstone's pamphlet appeared, the country was already pretty well aroused against the Turks, and his fervid rhetoric intensified the feeling, and excited indignation against the British government, as it was designed to do. He speaks of "fell Satanic orgies" Disraeli had used the phrase "coffee house babble" in reference to some exaggerated reports he had heard. In an often quoted passage, Gladstone urges a distinctly anti-Turk policy upon the Tory government

An old servant of the crown and state, I entreat my country men, upon whom far more than perhaps any other people of Europe it depends, to require and to insist that our government which has been working in one direction shall work in the other, and shall apply all its vigour to concur with the other states of Europe in obtaining the extinction of the Turkish executive power in Bulgaria. Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely, by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbashis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned.

A few days after the pamphlet on the Bulgarian Horrors was issued, Gladstone in a speech at Blackheath explained his position by saying that Turkey should keep the nominal sovereignty of her European dominions. Many meetings were held in England over British policy in the East. Disraeli, now Lord Beaconsfield, complained of Gladstone's course and that of

⁴⁰A late estimate makes the number killed 3,694, more than half of them women and children. Argyll, *The Eastern Question*, Vol. 1, p. 229.

⁴¹Senate Document, as given under (35), p. 3.

⁴²See the *Nation*, Sept. 7, 1876, p. 143.

other Liberals as hampering the free action of the government ⁴³ Liberal criticism outside of England was rather severe, if we can judge from this extract from a Geneva paper

To rule India, they say, the oppression of Oriental peoples is necessary. The subjection of the followers of Christ assures that of the followers of Brahma. Indian interests, or Brahman, or Mohammedan, are of more importance than Christian, European and humanitarian. England, ritualized, Catholicized, Judaized, Toryized, in spite of its dogmas, missions, Bibles, sabbaths, revivals, is no longer the representative of Protestantism, the true Christian people. No, England, you are no longer the true Christian people, nor the true humanitarian people. You are an England Indianized, Mohammedanized. You have exchanged your Christian sceptre for a turban ⁴⁴

British policy had been encouraging the Porte no doubt more than the British administration meant that it should. The Andrassy Note had been approved by England, but only grudgingly and after consultation with Turkey. The Berlin Memorandum had been rejected because force was contemplated and the Porte could not consent to that. In May the British fleet was sent to Besika Bay, and the Turks thought it was for their protection against Russia. Then, in the summer and autumn of 1876, had come the indignation over the Bulgarian massacres. Meetings held, as the one at Blackheath where Gladstone spoke, and deputations sent to remonstrate with the foreign office obliged the government to change its course in some degree. Disraeli had said that agitation would make no difference in the policy of the government ⁴⁵. But it did. September 4th he wrote "I fear there must be a Congress, though I hate it, and I am quite confident we could have managed without it, had it not been for the Bulgarian bogey" ⁴⁶. Lord Derby, at this time Foreign Secretary, said that the Porte had incurred by its own guilt or negligence a misfortune greater than the loss of a pitched battle in forfeiting the sympathy of England ⁴⁷. About the 10th of October he sent a dispatch to the Porte strongly reproving it

⁴³Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, II, 553 ff, Buckle, *op cit*, VI, 60, *Nation*, Nov 2, 1876, London correspondence of Oct 5, p 270

⁴⁴Baron A. d'Avril, *Négociations relatives au traité de Berlin*, p 157, in *l'Alliance libérale*

⁴⁵Buckle, *The Eastern Question*, *op cit*, vi, p 61

⁴⁶*Ibid*, p 54

⁴⁷*Saturday Review*, Sept 16, 1876, p 340, see also Argyle, *op cit*, I, 266

or the massacres, demanding reparations and telling it that it had incurred the just indignation of Europe

Statesmen in other countries too were aroused at the Turkish barbarities. The Italian Foreign Minister declared to the English ambassador at Rome that "the Powers could not interfere so soon, but it was horrible to contemplate the idea of Europe having held its hand while such barbarities had been committed." He said that Europe had allowed this to happen to give itself from war, that this was an egotistical policy, and that he was shocked to think of the blood that might have been saved if the Powers had not been supine and content to hope that the reports which reached them were not true. He added that public feeling in Italy had been greatly in favor of the insurgent provinces and of the Christian states at war with the Porte, and that had it not been for the restraining influence of the Government, a large army of Italian volunteers would long ere this have swelled the ranks of the enemies of the Sultan.⁴⁸ Public opinion in Russia, already strongly biased in favor of the Balkan insurgents, was greatly aroused against Turkey. In Russia public opinion was not the same thing as in England, where deputations of workmen took up the cause of the oppressed nationalities in Turkey. Journalists, military officers, and civil servants spoke for the nation there, and, though only a small proportion of the Russian people, they exerted a considerable influence. Many Russian volunteers went to join the Serbian army. Tcherniaieff, the general in chief of that army, was one of them.

In Austria-Hungary sentiment was divided. General Klapka joined the Turkish army, giving as his reason that he felt it his duty as a Hungarian to oppose the founding of a South Slav Confederacy. On the other hand, the governor of Dalmatia favored the insurgents. Large supplies of money and of arms were said to have been furnished them from Austrian territory eman from any other quarter.⁴⁹

In the summer or autumn of 1876 the Bulgarians made a diplomatic move in their own behalf. The group of Bulgarians

⁴⁸Argyll, *op cit*, p. 262, quoted from *Parliamentary Papers, Turkey, 1, 1877, No. 44*, pp. 32-33.

⁴⁹*Saturday Review*, July 29, 1876, p. 126.

in Constantinople, acting as representatives of the nation, sent a delegation of two to the European chancellories with a carefully prepared statement. The bearers were Tsankoff and Balabanoff. First they went to England, where they were much pleased with their reception. Lord Derby listened to what they had to say and promised to consider Bulgarian affairs, although he said that he stood for the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. The *Daily News* and other papers reported their favorable reception. There were many demonstrations in their favor, notably in London and Birmingham. Several thousand came to a meeting in Hyde Park. "I am," wrote Balabanoff, "quite unable to describe the enthusiastic cries and applause with which the many thousand people have received and greeted the Bulgarian delegates. It was not a greeting, it was an ovation."⁵⁰

The delegates found France averse to a war. "Do you know then what a war is?" Thiers asked them. Italy was sympathetic and likely to support the policy of Russia, hoping at some time to get her support for the addition of the Italian provinces which were still outside Italy.⁵¹ In Germany they met Bismarck, and if we can trust Balabanoff's account, his remarks were more sympathetic than some of the expressions attributed to him.

We have no direct interest in the Orient. We are interested though in universal politics, and in your fate as Christians. Austria has a greater and more direct interest in the Balkan Peninsula, wherefore we seek to unite it with that of Russia who stands unreservedly at your side. The views of Russia and Austria in regard to the Balkan Peninsula do not accord and I am exerting myself as far as possible to reconcile them. Austria is not in feeling hostile to Russia, but views things from another standpoint. Russia from her standpoint would openly hold with you. I can declare frankly to you that we sympathize with you, and that we will do everything in a diplomatic way that lies in our power to change your situation, we will not however, declare war on that account. Should a war have to take place, then Russia will undertake it but we are, as I said, friends of Russia. Be assured of that. The Kaiser, my master, is deeply interested in your affairs also, and wishes sincerely that your situation grow better. He remembers still the struggle of Greece for their freedom from Turkey. He, as well as I, sympathizes with you. Doubt not, you will have success, Europe is with you.⁵²

⁵⁰Hajek, *op cit*, pp 303-5

⁵¹*Ibid*, p 310

⁵²*Ibid*, pp 312-17

The address the Bulgarian delegates presented to the Powers began with a lament over their loss of independence toward the end of the 14th century.

The loss of their independence was indeed a great misfortune for this people, but their conquerors have soon made them realize that they were not only conquered, but they were reduced to a state of slavery in the true sense of the word.

It is impossible to get even approximately an idea of what that unhappy people has suffered for nearly five centuries under the debasing domination of the Turks. It is a miracle indeed that they have been able to survive to this day, a secular martyr destined to afford a living witness before the civilized world against the cruelty of their oppressors.

A people hard-working and peaceable as a people ever was, the Bulgarians have with the sweat of their brow for five centuries watered the land which they cultivate only to the exclusive profit of their oppressors, who can never be satisfied. As recompense, they treat this people as animals only to be exploited in whatever manner is the most lucrative. The life of a Bulgarian, his wealth acquired with so much labor, his honor, the honor of his household, his wife and children, are at the mercy of the most insignificant of the Mussulmans or at the mercy of the first Zaptieh, who appears, veritable scourges of the country. Victim of murder or of plunder at the hands of the Turk, defrauded of its claim to ownership of land that it cultivates so carefully to render it more productive, wantonly insulted or mistreated without any cause, humiliated and put to shame (all this always with the approval of the official rulers), the unfortunate Bulgarian rayah is in advance sure of losing whenever his case comes before a Turkish judge, and unhappy is the one who at the end of his patience dares, in order to ward off the attack, to have recourse to legitimate defence. That right exists in Turkey today for the Turks who, although having no reason to carry weapons, (for no one dares to attack them), use them freely and with all the less restraint because the carrying of arms strictly forbidden to the Bulgarians is permitted to the former who are armed often from head to foot not only in the country, but even in the cities. Each year, especially for the last twenty years, we can reckon by the hundred Bulgarians struck down by the fatal attacks of fanatical Turks without Turkish justice ever taking the pains to seek out and punish the guilty. The life of the Bulgarian gnaour is not worth living with the Turks masters of the country. Although they are subject to excessive payments, the unhappy Bulgarians enjoy no advantages at all proportional to the taxes they pay.

Promises of change for the better, as in 1839 and since have made them hopeful, but the higher their hopes, the greater their disappointment at the outcome. The more they make progress in culture and ambition, the more ways are found of keeping them in a state of servitude.

Admitted by the consent of the European powers, Turkey has not changed its system. On the contrary, the idea that the Christian powers have agreed to respect the independence and the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire, renders it more bold in its conduct toward its oppressed people.

After recalling the recent massacres of their countrymen, they go on as follows.

Resigned and patient in their long martyrdom, the Bulgarian people can endure no more. The cup of their misfortunes and sufferings has been more than filled. As they do not see that their condition of servitude under the Turkish government is a necessary condition to the maintenance of European equilibrium or to the progress of the human race, they address the Christian governments of Europe, representatives of civilized peoples, to solicit from them conditions which will permit them to live, not as flocks or herds of animals to be shorn or slaughtered when it pleases their masters, but like men enjoying imprescriptible rights and those necessary for their intellectual, social, and moral development. Experience having demonstrated the nature and efficacy of Turkish reforms, the Bulgarian people, which by its traditions, its geographical position, its numerical importance, with the qualities of a people adapted to farm life or industry, possesses all the elements desirable for peaceful progress, put no confidence any more in reforms. They pray then that the powers, protectors of Christians in the Orient, intercede and obtain for them the right henceforth of governing themselves. They demand in other words, full autonomy with a national government guaranteed by the great powers, protectors of the Christians in the Orient, the only way of living peaceably and becoming gradually cultured. The autonomy of the Bulgarian people under these conditions, could alone render them capable of becoming by their inherent qualities (*par ses propres forces*) one of the most active and constant agents for the progress of civilization in Eastern Europe, it would be at the same time the surest guarantee of a durable peace in the principal part of the Balkan peninsula.

It is the only policy which can hinder in the future such atrocities as have deeply aroused the indignation of the civilized world. They like to believe that, after the cruel trials to which they have had to submit at the hands of their masters, Europe would not wish to put them henceforth in a situation such as to force them to acts of desperation even to the sacrifice of their lives.⁵⁸

Bulgaria had not much force of a material sort with which to make an impression, but the address was a dignified and worthy presentation of their case and no doubt helped their cause. Meantime the Powers had the war between Turkey and the states of Serbia and Montenegro to deal with. They could agree that the war ought to stop, and they could agree on what Turkey ought to do to alleviate conditions, but they could not agree as to what to do when Turkey was recalcitrant and was unwilling to accept the judgment of the Powers. They succeeded in inducing Turkey and Serbia to cease hostilities from September

⁵⁸A. Chaumier, *La Bulgarie, étude diplomatique et de droit international*, pp. 13-15. Quoted from D. Tsankoff and Marco D. Balabanoff, *La Bulgarie*, Appendix.

14th to October 31d During that interval it was agreed that Turkey ought to restore the status quo in Serbia and grant autonomy to her discontented provinces, but Turkey objected Russia and Austria proposed that Austria occupy Bosnia and Russia occupy Bulgaria, but Great Britain would not hear to that and when it was proposed that a joint fleet should seize the straits, the British government objected to that too The preceding July Russia and Austria, without making a formal treaty, had come to an understanding concerning Balkan affairs In case Turkey were victorious in the war impending they were to make common efforts to guarantee to the insurgents the liberties and reforms which have been requested of the Porte and promised by it In case the Turks were defeated Bulgaria, Roumania and Albania might form autonomous states, and Serbia and Montenegro might be slightly enlarged Whatever of Bosnia and Herzegovina should not be annexed to these two states was to go to Austria Russia was to get compensation by resuming the frontiers of 1856, and by making additions to the territory from regions about the Black Sea ⁵⁴

⁵⁴Pribram, *The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary*, II, 189-191

CHAPTER IV

THE CONFERENCE OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR

The troubles in the East continued to be a matter of concern to the Powers of Europe. The Andrassy Note and the Berlin Memorandum having failed to produce any results, it was determined at the suggestion of Great Britain to hold a conference of the Powers at Constantinople for the purpose of arranging for terms of peace between Serbia and Montenegro, and of remedying evil conditions in Bosnia and Bulgaria. It was agreed by all that Turkey must not be allowed to have her way with her subjects. The problem was to induce Turkey to take this view of the matter. It was upon the representatives of England and of Russia that the responsibility for the success of the conference mainly rested. Salisbury and Elliot were to act as the agents of Great Britain, and Ignatieff, of Russia.¹ Elliot and Ignatieff were already in Constantinople. Salisbury, coming from England, took the opportunity, in order to increase his understanding of the situation, to stop to interview the chancelleries of the Powers of central Europe and of Italy. He found Bismarck wishing for a war between Turkey and Russia, but anxious that England should not engage in it. Bismarck was willing that the fighting power of Russia should be diminished, but he did not want to have to play the difficult part of a neutral if England and Russia should get into a war. He thought the conference would be a failure and that the important question pending was what to do with the territory of Turkey when she collapsed.² Salisbury found Andrassy also "thinking very little of what was to be done at the Conference and a great deal of what was to be done after it had broken up."³ In Italy, "They are earnestly for peace—but their sympathies are Russian."⁴ The Italian

¹Baron de Werther represented Germany, Count Zichy and Baron Calice, Austria, Count de Bourgoing and Count de Chaudordy, France, Count Corti, Italy, Safvet Pasha and Edhem Pasha, Turkey. *State Papers*, 1876-77, p. 1114.

²Cecil, Lady Gwendolen, *Life of Salisbury*, II, 199.

³*Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 107.

minister of Foreign Affairs, Meligani, said he was opposed to military occupation of the Turkish provinces, but thought there should be guarantees of good government there.⁵

When the delegates came to Constantinople, they thought they ought to hold preliminary meetings among themselves and come to an understanding in regard to what they should demand of Turkey, believing that Turkey would not venture to refuse what united Europe asked of her. This mode of procedure was not calculated to predispose Turkey in favor of the wishes of the Powers. These preliminary meetings, moreover, were held at the headquarters of the embassy of the Russian government, at this time regarded as an enemy of the Turks. The conference met on the 23rd of December with the decision of the six Powers ready to present to the Porte. Agreement had been unexpectedly easy. To the surprise of everyone, and to the disgust of Sir Henry Elliot, Salisbury's colleague, who had been for several years in Constantinople and who did not at all approve of General Ignatieff, Great Britain and Russia came quickly to a complete understanding. What they agreed to no one else cared to oppose. Territory was to be added to Serbia and Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina were to have an autonomous government with a governor named for five years by the Sultan with the consent of the Powers. Bulgaria was to be divided into two parts, the dividing line running from north to south. The chief city of the eastern vilayet was to be Tinnovo, that of the western, Sofia. The former extended south to include Kirk Kilsse, almost to Adrianople. The latter included Nish and Uskub on the west, and Strumnitza on the south west. Over each of these vilayets or provinces was to be a governor general, appointed for five years with the consent of the Powers. In each vilayet was to be an assembly elected for four years to advise with the governor general. Of the revenue collected, 70% was to go to the vilayet, and 30% to the Ottoman Government. The vilayets were to be subdivided into smaller territorial units and a considerable amount of self-government was to be allowed them. An army made up of regular Ottoman soldiers was to be cantoned in fortresses and the principal cities of Bulgaria. It was primarily for defense from external enemies, but might be used

⁵*State Papers*, 1876-77, p. 1084.

to maintain internal order on the demand of the governor general. For keeping order on ordinary occasions there was to be a gendarmerie made up of Christians and Mussulmans proportioned in each district to the number of each in the population. According to the plan agreed upon by the Powers, there was also to be an international commission, to be nominated for a year by the guaranteeing Powers, to watch over the execution of the regulations made for the benefit of the Bulgarians.⁶

The Ottoman Government very seriously objected to the regulations laid down for them by the unanimous agreement of the Powers and refused to accept the conditions. Safvet Pasha, their principal representative, resented the title "Bulgaria" inserted in these regulations at the head of those designed for the "Oriental" and "Occidental" vilayets. The Turks also objected to the boundaries fixed for these districts. The design of the Powers was to exclude those portions in the south of this region which were mostly Mohammedan and include those largely Christian, but the Turks thought it was best to fuse those of the two religions. The chief objection, though, was to the international commission. "The simple enumeration of the powers of the International Commission suffices to show," they said, "that its formation is equivalent to the suspension of every action of the Imperial Government over Bosnia, as well as over the two vilayets Oriental and Occidental."⁷ Also it was contrary to the Treaty of Paris.

"Moreover," said the Turks, "these demands of the Powers are quite superfluous." Turkey was actually in the process of reforming herself. Just at the time of the formal opening of the conference a new constitution had been proclaimed. While Safvet Pasha, the Turkish minister of foreign affairs was addressing the conference, a salvo of artillery was heard. "These salutes," he said, "announce the promulgation of the Constitution which the Sultan grants his Empire. That act changes a form of government which has lasted for six hundred years and inaugurates a new era in the prosperity of the Ottoman people."⁸

⁶Noradounghian, *Recueil des Actes Internationaux de L'Empire Ottoman*, III, 411

⁷*State Papers*, 1876-77, p. 1154, Noradounghian, *op cit*, III, 448

⁸Noradounghian, *op cit*, p. 407

He also claimed that

The country inhabited by the Bulgarians was one which, during the period since the Treaty of Paris, had profited most by material and administrative concessions. The Bulgarian people and its moral needs had been the object of quite special solicitude, so much so, that among the other peoples of the Empire, there were those who went so far as to accuse the Sublime Porte of partiality in favor of its Bulgarian subjects.⁹

If Turkey would not submit to the decision of the Powers, what was to be done? One recourse was to reduce the terms. They were already at an irreducible minimum, Ignatieff had said, nevertheless, Russia consented to a further modification. This was not sufficient. Turkey still was stubborn and the Conference gave up. Some thought the failure due to British encouragement, that Turkey was led to believe not only that England would not be a party to the use of force, but would not permit any one else to use it. Indeed, Lord Derby seems to have made a statement to that effect to Musurus Pasha, the Turkish ambassador to London. The grand vizier telegraphed his deep gratitude for British favor.¹⁰ However, Sir Henry Elliot and Lord Salisbury had told the Turks more than once that England could not support her and had urged her to yield to the demands of the Conference. Salisbury, at least, seems to have been in earnest, but he thought others were encouraging the Turks.

I am trying very hard to make them understand that in no case will they have any assistance from England, but I do not know whether I shall succeed. There is a colony of English and Greeks who make money by war contracts, and who think that by urging the Turks to stand out they will force England to spend money here. Nor are they alone. Sir Henry Elliot of course behaves quite loyally, but that is not the case with his entourage on the embassy, and the Turks are too much disposed by their own practice to believe that official declarations are mere bluffs, and that the truth is only to be discovered by backstairs gossip.¹¹

Again he writes

Several of the minor diplomats who see much of the game as spectators, assure me that the Turks are still convinced that if there is war, England must be drawn into it on their side. I get the same impression from many other quarters. The other ambassadors attribute this state of things to the attitude and language of Sir Henry Elliot. I do not for a moment suggest any doubt of Sir Henry's loyalty. He is a thorough gentleman and means to act quite fairly. But he allows it to be seen that his sympathies are with the

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 403-4.

¹⁰Mac Coll, in *Contemporary Review*, March, 1879, p. 778.

¹¹Cecil, *op. cit.*, II, 117-18.

Turks, and against the proposals of the Powers I feel that, however disagreeable it is, I am bound to recommend to the Cabinet on some pretext or other to get him away ¹²

Elliot was removed, but not until the conference was over. Possibly he would have been removed earlier, had not advice for the same action, made either from indiscretion or malice, been presented to the cabinet at the same time as Salisbury's. In an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, published in 1888, ¹³ Sir Henry argues that the Turks really meant reform when they issued the constitution of 1876.

That constitution provided for most of the reforms which had been asked for in the provinces. If the conference had received communication in regard to it formally and officially, the Powers would have had the right to insist on its observation (sic). The Sultan could not have openly repudiated it. The Powers would have been seconded by the immense majority of the Sultan's own subjects. The members of the conference were not aware of the earnestness of the reformers. What was good was passed over and what was bad was commented on. Two sessions of the Turkish Parliament held were most encouraging and showed the members fully determined that their control over the government should be a real one. Midhat Pasha of the reforming party was under the disfavor of the Conference. If he had not been, Abdul Hamid would not have ventured to dismiss him.

Beaconsfield and Derby were more inclined to agree with Elliot than with Salisbury in their attitude toward Turkey. The policy of the cabinet, as resolved on at the time of the opening of the conference at Constantinople, was decided to be what Derby had expressed to the Turkish ambassador shortly before:

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 118-19.

¹³*Nineteenth Century*, Feb., 1888, pp. 294 ff., also in Sir Henry Elliot, *Some Revolutions and other Diplomatic Experiences*, Ch. XI. "It was universally believed that Sir Henry Elliot was commissioned privately to encourage the Turks to resist." Says George Washburn, "England and Turkey," *International Review*, Sept., 1879, p. 317. See also Gallenga, *Two Years of the Eastern Question*, II, 241, also Hardinge's *The Fourth Earl of Carnarvon*, II, 341. Sir Stafford Northcote who was a member of the cabinet at this time, comments as follows on the conduct of Elliot and Disraeli at this time: "The difficulties have been considerably increased by the imbecility of Elliot and (in the profoundest secrecy be it said) the unfortunate levity of our chief." Letters to Carnarvon in Hardinge, II, 335.

Concerning Salisbury, Carnarvon observes: "His antagonism to Turkey was of the strongest, not to say of the bitterest kind, and I understood and believed him to consider the case of the Christians to be one of absolutely essential vital importance." *Ibid.*, p. 340.

"not to coerce the Porte nor sanction coercion by others but to use every means of friendly influence and persuasion."¹⁴ In a letter of December 28th, he wrote to Derby "Salisbury seems to be most prejudiced, and not to be aware that his principal object in being sent to Constantinople is to keep the Russians out of Turkey and not to create an ideal existence for Turkish Christians"¹⁵

Midhat Pasha who was Grand Vizier during the time of the conference wrote in an English magazine a year or two later

Turkey was not unaware of the attitude of the English Government towards her, the British cabinet had declared in clear terms that it would not interfere in our dispute

This decision of the English Cabinet was perfectly well known to us, but we knew still better that the general interests of Europe and the particular interests of England were so bound up in our dispute with Russia, that it appeared to us to be absolutely impossible for her not to interfere sooner or later in this Eastern dispute¹⁶

When war broke out a little later there were many Englishmen who joined the Turkish army, although it is said that their help to the Turkish cause was of inconsequence. One of them was Hobart Pasha who had distinguished himself as a blockade runner during the American Civil War. He was put at the head of the Turkish navy

No doubt the diplomatic course for Great Britain to pursue was difficult to determine. Mr Herbert A. L. Fisher has summed up in a sentence the complexities of the situation.

Here there was British diplomacy subjected to a complicated mass of conflicting strains and stresses, policy pulling one way, religion another, liberal ideas prompting the emancipation of the subject races, imperialist fears suggesting that emancipation was but a cloak for Russian aggrandizement, desire whispering that the Turk could be made respectable, experience replying that he would be a barbarian till the end of time, the short view counselling that the Turkish Empire must be preserved from going into liquidation, the long view adding that care must be taken to ensure an equitable distribution of the revisionary interests¹⁷

¹⁴Buckle, *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, VI, 109

¹⁵*Ibid*

¹⁶*Nineteenth Century*, June, 1878, pp 987-88. Washburn says that Midhat Pasha, not the Sultan, was responsible for the non-acceptance of the terms proposed at the conference, also that the state of feeling was such in Constantinople that the Sultan would not dare accept the proposals of the conference. *Ibid.*, pp 310-12

¹⁷*Edinburgh Review*, April, 1924, p 281.

The Bulgarians themselves were not at this time able to take much part in their diplomatic history. They were anxious onlookers. They were afraid the new constitution might be approved by the Powers, and their hopes of a nation of their own disappointed. "Hence the Bulgarians denounce the constitution as an insult to Europe and they ridicule the idea of a sovereign granting a constitution to his subjects as something in itself opposed to liberty."¹⁸

So the concert of Europe was unable to deal successfully with the Turk. Nothing would answer but force, and, if she could prevent it without too much sacrifice, Great Britain would not allow that. The Pan-Slavists of Russia were eager to make war on Turkey and war seemed imminent. Under these conditions, the chancelleries of Europe began actively to seek some advantage, each for himself. In July, 1876, Russia and Austria had made the treaty at Reichstadt, already spoken of. In January, 1877, while the conference of Constantinople was in session and apparently failing, that treaty was reaffirmed and added to by the treaty of Bucharest. "Considering that in the pending diplomatic negotiations disagreements might arise of a nature to bring about a rupture between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in conformity with the close friendship which binds them and with the urgency of obviating the possibility of a collision between the interests of their respective states it seemed best to reach an understanding in contemplation of that eventuality." They agreed that there should be established, "In Bosnia and Herzegovina an autonomous régime not too greatly exceeding the measure fixed by the dispatch of December 30, 1875 (the Andrassy note), and the guarantees of the memorandum of Berlin. As Bulgaria is placed under more favorable conditions for the exercise of autonomous institutions, they mutually engage to demand for this province in the conference a larger autonomy buttressed by substantial guarantees."¹⁹

It was also agreed that "in case of a territorial modification or of a dissolution of the Ottoman Empire the establishment of a great compact Slavic or other state is excluded. In compensation, Bulgaria, Albania, and the rest of Rumelia might be con-

¹⁸H. O. Dwight, *Turkish Life in War Time*

¹⁹Pribram, *The Secret Treaties of Austria-Hungary*, II, 194-95

stituted into independent states "²⁰ Out of these conventions Austria gained Russia's consent to the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Russia, the assurance of Austria's neutrality when the war with Turkey should break out

Austria, not satisfied with a treaty with the enemy of Turkey, about the same time came to an understanding, a secret one, with Great Britain, her friend The provisions were as follows

No power can have an exclusive protectorate over the Christian population of the Balkans No state has the right to pretend to determine alone and definitely the consequences of the Russo-Turkish war without cooperation of the other protecting powers No great Slav state may be formed to the detriment of the population of the Balkans Much less could they grant a political autonomy with a native chief at the head ²¹

These attempts to provide against the consequences of a war in the East did not prevent further attempts to avert it The Tsar and Gortchakoff seem not to have been desirous of war, but there was strong pressure brought to bear upon them by the Pan-Slavists The official attitude is shown in a dispatch of January 31 from Gortchakoff to Schouvaloff, the Russian ambassador to England "The refusal of the Turkish government," he wrote "threatens the dignity and the tranquillity of Europe" He said that Russia desired to act in common with other European Powers, but was anxious to know what they are going to do about it ²²

No immediate answer was given to Russia The course of the Powers had been such, and continued to be such as to encourage both Russia and Turkey Demands were made of Turkey for the better treatment of the Christians in her Empire They all agreed that reform was imperative Some said the Ottoman government was weak and lacked the power to protect her Christian subjects Others were convinced that she didn't care to So, if Russia used coercion, she could feel herself justified On the other hand, the Powers had refused to use coercion So, Turkey could satisfy them with promises and fail to keep the promises She knew she ran some risk of bringing the Russian armies down upon her, but that was a risk she felt

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 203

²¹Max Hirschler in *Revue de Paris*, July-August, 1915, p. 609

²²*State Papers*, 1876-77, p. 1105

able to meet, especially as she thought there was a high probability of England's assistance

Russia did not care to adopt an aggressive policy immediately after the conference at Constantinople. It was winter and the weather not favorable to a campaign. Then the diplomatic position of Russia would be improved by another attempt to bring the united pressure of Europe on the recalcitrant Turks. So Ignatieff, the Russian ambassador was sent on a mission to the various courts of Europe in order to keep Turkish affairs to the front, and if possible, to obtain a fresh condemnation of the Ottoman government.

Meantime, two events had been taking place, one of which was favorable to peace and the other, unfavorable. Unfavorable to peace was the dismissal of Midhat Pasha. He had been succeeded by Edhem Pasha. Looking toward peace was the conclusion of the war between Turkey and Serbia, although Montenegro had not ceased hostilities. It is true that the Turks had been stubborn at the Conference of Constantinople with Midhat Pasha as Grand Vizier, nevertheless, he was regarded as the one responsible for the dethroning of the inefficient and reactionary sultans during the preceding summer. He was, moreover, the one chiefly interested in the new Turkish constitution. Edhem Pasha belonged to the party having no sympathy with reformers. Russia was taking the position that unless there was real reform and adequate assurance that the Christians of European Turkey would be protected, she must interfere. No year of grace could be allowed, Ignatieff declared to the Italian ambassador at Berlin. "Russia could not remain so long under arms, and if she disarmed, she would appear to have abandoned the Christians of the Ottoman Empire to Turkish fanaticism." So Ignatieff was commissioned to visit the courts of Europe in order to get the powers to agree to a statement he had drawn up for the ameliorating of conditions among the Balkan Christians. "Provided that Europe," he says, "accepted the document and put its signature to it, Russia would be assured that Europe assumed the guardianship of those interests in behalf of which it had assembled, in conference at Constantinople. If, however, the anticipation should not be verified, Russia would be constrained

to regulate her action solely on the basis of her interests, a result which she had the liveliest wish to avoid."²³

Ignatieff had an interview with Bismarck in Berlin on March 4th. Bismarck thought England would not undertake the moral obligation implied in signing the document. The business was not Germany's affair. He inferred that Russia, notwithstanding her affirmation, would strike, and that she hardly expected a peaceful solution of the trouble. A little later Ignatieff was in Paris, and there he told Lord Lyons, the British ambassador, that the Russian Government could not demobilize unless something was gained, unless the Russian people were convinced that Europe had not been set at naught, and that some security had been obtained by the Christian population.²⁴

Ignatieff's most important task was in England. While there he astonished Salisbury, whose guest he was, and the opposition leaders as well, by confiding to them diplomatic secrets which they might use to advantage in their attacks upon the Government. The Liberal leaders, however, refused to take advantage of their inside information, and told Salisbury of the revelations of his strange guest.

Ignatieff, notwithstanding Bismarck's prophecy, did succeed in getting the British government to accept, with a few changes, the document the Russian government had drawn up. It was signed also by the representatives of the six Powers, and issued March 31, 1877. "In view of the good intentions of the Porte," it said, "the Powers believe that they have good grounds for hoping the Porte will profit by the present lull to apply the reforms energetically." The representatives of the Powers at Constantinople and their local agents would watch and see how well the Porte was keeping her promises.

If their hopes should be disappointed and the Christian subjects of the Sultan should not be improved in a manner to prevent the return of the complications which periodically disturb the peace of the East, they think it right to declare that such a state of affairs would be incompatible with their interests and those of Europe in general. In such case they reserve to themselves to consider in common as to the means which they may deem best fitted to secure the well being of the Christian populations and the interests of the general peace."²⁵

²³From a letter of Malcolm MacColl in *The Spectator*, April 28, 1877. Quotations from the *Italian Green Book*.

²⁴Argyll, *The Eastern Question*, I, 386-87.

²⁵*Annual Register*, 1877, Part II, pp. 210-11.

With the protocol went three declarations, one by Russia, one by Italy, and one by Great Britain. Those by Great Britain and Italy were practically the same. They said that if the proposed peace with Montenegro and demobilization of the Turkish and Russian armies were not attained, the protocol was null and void. Russia, on the other hand, was not willing to let matters rest in case Turkey should reject its terms. The Russian ambassador declared that,

If peace with Montenegro is concluded and the Porte accepts the advice of Europe and shows itself ready to replace its forces on a peace footing and seriously to undertake the reforms mentioned in the Protocol, let it send to St. Petersburg a special envoy to treat of disarmament, to which His Majesty would also on his part consent.

If massacres similar to those which have occurred in Bulgaria take place, this would necessarily put a stop to measures of demobilization.²⁶

The English government urged Turkey to accept the terms of the protocol. Lord Derby told Schouvaloff that he had protested against their rejection and had desired Mr. Jocelyn, chargé of affairs at Constantinople, to say that, "in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the Sultan would be very unwise if he would not avail himself of the opportunity afforded him to arrange a mutual disarmament."²⁷ The Earl of Derby had, in fact, urged the Sultan to accept the protocol. He told the Turkish Government that Turkey ought not to put herself in the wrong by rejecting it, especially as Her Majesty's Government had taken pains to remove from the document everything reasonably objectionable to Turkey.

The terms laid down, Turkey nevertheless rejected, and in her answer to them assumed an air of injured innocence.

The Porte believes Europe is convinced that the disorders which have disturbed the tranquillity of the provinces were due to external agitation. A painful feeling was caused by the issuance of the protocol. She was ready to carry out reforms, to make peace with Montenegro and to put her armies on a peace footing as soon as Russia did.

But what cannot in truth be sufficiently regretted is the small account which the Powers seem to have taken both of the great principles of equality and justice which the Imperial Government seeks to introduce into the internal administration and of its rights of independence and sovereignty.

The Sublime Porte has not accepted reforms exclusively for Bosnia, Herzegovina, and for localities inhabited by Bulgarians.²⁸

²⁶*Ibid*

²⁷Argyll, *op cit*, I, 403

²⁸*Annual Register*, 1877, Part II, p. 214

Moreover, "Turkey as an independent state cannot submit to be placed under surveillance whether collective or not." Turkey felt that the new constitution adopted recently was sufficient guarantee of the genuineness of reform.

It did in fact seem a rash thing for Turkey to reject the collective will of Europe. But she felt that the Powers were not in earnest. The British government, they knew was anti-Russian. At the same cabinet session as that of the announcement of the protocol, Mr Henry Layard was appointed ambassador to take the place of Sir Henry Elliot. That appointment was regarded as pro-Turkish and anti-Russian.²⁹ The Porte itself so regarded it. In a telegram from Safvet Pasha to the Turkish ambassador in London, he speaks of it as a "delicate mark of attention," as they knew Mr Layard's "sentiments of friendship for our country." Odo Russell, British ambassador at Berlin, said a German ambassador was not to be appointed until Turkey accepted the protocol.³⁰ Sir Edwin Pears, then a newspaper correspondent at Constantinople, says that the English colony there "still living under the glamour of the Crimean War"³¹ was anti-Russian. "Germany seems now (April, 1877) to be with Russia," said a journal of Constantinople, "and Austria-Hungary is observing a benevolent neutrality. But it is certain that at the first striking of fire Austria will be the first to demand the protection of Turkey. As for England, she will understand that she cannot save herself without declaring war against Russia."³²

After the rejection of the demands of the Powers made at the conference of Constantinople and of the protocol of March 31st, there seemed no alternative but war. There was a further attempt of Sir Henry Layard to get the Turks to ask for mediation instead of war, but it came to nothing. The Russians could make out a very good case for their interfering, a much better one than they had for coming to the help of Serbia in 1914, a better one, also, than we had for the declaration of war against Spain in 1898. For many years they had looked upon themselves as guardians of the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 215.

³⁰*Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette*, II, 144.

³¹Argyll, *op cit.*, I, 405 (from *Parlia Papers*).

³²Edwin Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, p. 59.

and recent events had shown the need of their protection. Since the concert of Europe was doing nothing effectual to improve the position of these Christians, Russia, as nearest friend, seemed called upon to act. In his *manifesto* to his troops when they were ordered to cross the Turkish frontier, the Tsar said, "Our desire to ameliorate and to guarantee their lot has been shared by the whole Russian nation, which shows itself to-day ready to bear new sacrifices to alleviate the situation of the Christians of the Balkan peninsula."³³

In explaining her action to Great Britain she said "In these circumstances, every chance is closed for efforts of conciliation. There remains no alternative but to allow the state of things to continue which the Powers have declared incompatible with their interests and those of Europe in general, or else to seek to obtain by coercion what the unanimous efforts of the Cabinets have not succeeded in obtaining from the Porte by persuasion.

Our august Master has resolved to undertake this work which His Majesty had invited the Great Powers to pursue in common with him.

He has given his armies the order to cross the frontiers of Turkey.

In assuming this task our august Master fulfils a duty imposed upon him by the interests of Russia, whose peaceful development is hindered by the permanent disturbances of the East. His Imperial Majesty has the conviction that he responds at the same time to the sentiments and interests of Europe."³⁴

Although the British government were not surprised at the course Russia was taking, yet they could not approve it. In Derby's reply he reminded the Russian government that Turkey had again affirmed her intention of executing reforms and said that with patience and moderation, the objects Russia wished to attain might have been realized. "They cannot believe that the entrance of (Russian) armies on Turkish soil will alleviate the difficulty or improve the condition of the Christian populations throughout the Sultan's dominions." Besides, Russia was acting in violation of the Treaties of 1856 and of 1871, he said, and was not acting in the interest of Great Britain and that of the other European Powers, as she claimed.³⁵

Russian public opinion supported the course of its government. M^r Aksakoff, "fountain head of Muscovite opinion,"

³³Quoted in Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire Générale*, XII, 435.

³⁴*State Papers*, 1876-1877, p. 845.

³⁵*Annual Register*, 1878, Part II, p. 216.

said to the Saint Petersburg correspondent of the Times "We do not seek military glory or material advantage. We are fighting for the political and intellectual emancipation of the Slavonic races of which we form a part. As Russia is the only politically independent powerful Slavonic State, it is our duty to take the lead."³⁶

A Russian paper of Moscow said "When we are trying to do our best for them, you English come and say, 'You must not do anything, for if you do, you will injure our interests. Let the Turks massacre as many as they choose. English interests are the first thing to be considered.' How can we be otherwise than angry with you."

War began on April 24th. The Turkish armies were not ready and could not prevent the Russian armies from crossing the Danube as they did on that date. An alliance with Roumania had enabled the Russians to cross the Pruth two months earlier. Upon entering Bulgarian territory the Tsar issued a proclamation to the Bulgarian people.

After reminding them of former services of Russia for ameliorating the lot of the Christians of the Balkans, he promised protection to them, and threatened punishment to the Mohammedans who had been guilty of violence toward them. The proclamation assured them that, as fast as Russian troops advanced into the interior of the country, the Turkish rule would be replaced by a regular organization; that the people who live in each locality would be immediately called to participate actively under the oversight of special new authorities, and that the Bulgarian legions would serve as a nucleus for a local armed force designed to maintain order and security. "Obey the Russian authorities. Follow faithfully their direction. There is power and safety for you."³⁷

To us who are interested in Bulgaria, this Russo-Turkish war is the war for Bulgarian independence. It was expected that the Bulgarians would take some part in it. So a Bulgarian legion was formed, as indicated by the proclamation of the Tsar. They were to serve not only as a nucleus for a local armed force to maintain order and security, but also as an aid to the Russian

³⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 217-18.

³⁷*Times*, Sept. 3, 1877.

army in the field. They did serve there, and with distinction. Three thousand men enlisted at first, and were put under the command of General Skobeloff. Later the number was doubled. The city of Samara offered them a flag, white, red, and blue, with the image of the Virgin and the holy saints Cyril and Methodius.³⁸

The Russian armies both in Bulgaria and in Asia pushed on without much opposition until the last of July. Tirnovo, the chief city of the Bulgarians north of the Balkans, was reached early in the month and soon General Gourko was in possession of two passes over the Balkan Mountains. At the end of July, however, the Turks rallied and the Russians suffered severe defeats. Osman Pasha occupied Plevna and while he held that important strategic centre, the Russians could not advance.

But we are especially interested, not in military operations, but in the attitude of the European Powers toward this war for Bulgarian independence. It was to them no war for that object at all. Each must look out for the high interests of its own government. England and Austria regarded themselves as very directly concerned and watched the progress of events with a good deal of anxiety. Austria-Hungary felt in some degree secure after the treaty of Bucharest made with Russia in January,³⁹ and Great Britain had secured from Russia the promise not to interfere with British interests in the Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf. The Russian government had also engaged not to occupy Constantinople permanently. To bind itself beforehand not to enter that city even temporarily was to give Turkey an unnecessary military advantage.

The sympathy of the Hungarians was decidedly with the Turks. They remembered how Nicholas I had sent an army against them in 1849, and how Turkey at the same time had protected Kossuth and other Magyar patriots. In January, before the war broke out, there were demonstrations in Pesth in favor of Turkey, and a deputation of students was sent to present to the Turkish commander-in-chief at Constantinople, a sword whose blade had been Maria Theresa's. There was also a

³⁸*State Papers*, 1876-77, pp. 877-79.

³⁹Landemont, *L'état d'un peuple*, pp. 17-18. See p. 74, *supra*.

project for raising a Hungarian legion of five thousand to assist the Turks⁴¹ In Croatia, on the other hand, there were pro-Slavonic and anti-Magyar demonstrations. The Russian hymn was played continuously by the bands. Resolutions concerning the barbarous and cruel oppression by the Turks were passed.⁴²

In Great Britain there was a great variety of opinion. The Earl of Beaconsfield said that in November there were seven different views among government supporters, ranging from those who wished to assist the Porte and enter actively into the war to Lord Carnarvon who, influenced by Lyddon, Freeman, and other priests and professors, "wished Russia permanently to occupy Constantinople."⁴³ Those in opposition to the government were similarly divided. Queen Victoria's dislike and distrust of Russia was so intense that she became almost hysterical sometimes when the Russians were succeeding. Beaconsfield came near to agreeing with her but understood better than she the limits within which divided opinion in England confined him. In the early summer of 1877, when Russia was advancing, she was thoroughly alarmed. "Why not call your followers together," she writes Lord Beaconsfield, "of the House of Commons as well as of the House of Lords, tell them that the interests of Great Britain are at stake; that it is not for the Christians (and they are quite as cruel as the Turks), but for conquest that this cruel war is waged, that Russia is as barbarous and tyrannical as the Turks!"⁴⁴ Again in January, 1878, she writes, she feels she can not, as she before said, "remain the sovereign of a country that is letting itself down to kiss the feet of the great barbarians, the retarders of all liberty and civilization that exists."⁴⁵ She could not understand "the mawkish sentimentality for people who hardly deserve the name of Christians." The war for Bulgarian independence did not receive much sympathy from Queen Victoria and Lord Beaconsfield. There were, however, many in England who had not forgotten the Bulgarian atrocities, "horrors which turned men's blood to flame," Lord Carnarvon said. If it had not been for the feeling Turkish

⁴¹*Annual Register*, 1879, p. 222

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 225

⁴³*Ibid.*, pp. 222, *Spectator*, May 19, 1877

⁴⁴Buckle, *op cit.*, VI, 194

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, p. 148

cruelty aroused, England might have taken an active part in the war. To Queen Victoria and Lord Beaconsfield, the war was simply to promote Russian ambitions, but public sentiment would not allow active interference on the side of the Porte. Mr Gladstone went so far as to propose in Parliament five resolutions, one of which asked that the influence of the crown should be employed for "the development of local liberty and practical self-government in the disturbed provinces." It was not thought best to bring this resolution to a vote, but it expressed the view of many, Walpole says, "of a preponderating mass of public opinion."⁴⁶ The Duke of Argyll thought the Russians fully justified in entering into the war against Turkey.⁴⁷ The Duke of Edinburgh, Queen Victoria's second son, thought his mother and the prime minister had a false conception of British interests.⁴⁸ His wife, though, was the daughter of Alexander II. Sir Henry Layard, whose duty it was to represent the views of the British government to the Porte, let the Ottoman government know that "she cannot expect any help from us in her struggle with Russia," but that

We shall be ready at a favorable moment to do our best to see that she be treated with justice and moderation, and her Christian and Mohammedan subjects alike with impartiality and equal humanity. It has been my object to raise such hopes, as I have none others to give, without committing in any way her Majesty's Government, whose views and policy it is my duty to consider and carry out.⁴⁹

At the beginning of the war Bismarck and the Emperor were warmly pro-Russian. Writing on April 28th, William closed a letter to his nephew, the Tsar, in this way: "With you, my dear nephew, I desire with all my heart that the success of your arms shall lead to a firm and lasting peace which at last will assuage the Christians of Turkey the guarantees which they need. My best wishes accompany your brother Nicholas."⁵⁰ The Emperor was warmly attached to the Tsar. Bismarck did not let sentimental considerations influence him. He seems to have thought the war inevitable. He may have thought, too, that it was time for the extinction of what for many years had been a

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 217

⁴⁷Spencer Walpole, *History of Twenty-five Years*, IV, 143

⁴⁸Argyll, *The Eastern Question*, II, 158

⁴⁹*Die Grosse Politik*, II, 158

⁵⁰Argyle, *op cit.*, II, 26-27, quoted from *Parlia. Papers*

source of trouble to European statesmen.⁵¹ As Salisbury found, on his way to Constantinople in 1876, Bismarck felt much as did the editor of the Cologne Gazette, who wrote that the mission of superseding Turkey was that of Austria and Greece. "We should not be disconsolate," that paper said, "were the two antagonistic animals to devour each other and like the Kilkenny cats leave nothing behind them to tell of the strife except a melancholy tail or two."⁵² Bismarck told Schouvaloff, Russian ambassador to England, that he and the Emperor were saying to Alexander that his honor was involved in declaring war on the Sultan and that Russia could count on the moral support of Germany on two conditions, first, that Russia should detach herself from France, second, that the war should be short.⁵³ Bismarck, it would seem, was not averse to the war. However, when the war went on and Russia won, he was put in the embarrassing position of having to choose Austria or Russia for his best friend.

France and Italy were inclined to favor Russia. Decazes, French foreign minister at this time, had in mind the possibility of a Russian alliance. This was the time when President Macmahon was trying to conduct the government with an irresponsible ministry. Later in the year his party was defeated and he was compelled to resign, much to the relief of Bismarck, who dreaded above all things a Franco-Russian alliance. Italy hoped for a share of the spoils if Turkey should be partitioned.

Early in the war, even before the Russian armies had crossed the Danube, the Bulgarian committee at Bucharest took measures to provide for a government in Bulgaria to take the place of the Ottoman government which they were confident would soon be ousted. Russia thought it would hardly do to let Bulgaria walk by herself without the support and guidance of her more experienced big brother. So Prince Tcherkasky was put in charge. He chose Naidon Guerooff, pedagogue, philologist and competent administrator to be governor of Sistova with Dragan Tsankoff as under-governor. As the Turks retired, he established all public services on a new basis. Russians took charge of

⁵¹Interview with Prince Henry of Reuss, German ambassador at the Porte, *Die Grosse Politik*, II, 158.

⁵²Cecil, *op cit*, II, 180.

⁵³*Times*, Sept. 3, 1877.

posts, telegraphs, and police. For other functions Bulgarian professors and students were procured, those who had been residing in Bucharest, St Petersburg, Prague and Paris. Large proprietors were dispossessed, but indemnity was to be paid them within five years. The following proclamation was issued by the committee of Bucharest:

People of Bulgaria, you will give yourself leaders of your own. For the moment, obey the provisional government, which has been named by patriots. It will be present with you soon and will act after your wishes. Meanwhile, it calls to you from Roumanian territory. Forward! God is with us. With us are our Russian brothers! Tsankoff, Panof, Entechef, Ivanov, Stamboulloff, Wiskofski, Kavilijzef, Vasof.⁵⁴

The neighbors of Bulgaria were not altogether pleased with Russian interference. The Turks were alarmed because the society of which M^r Aksakoff was president was officially recognized by the Imperial government, while its agents were to be given places in the civil administration of Bulgaria.⁵⁵ Austria was annoyed that Prince Tcherkasky was surrounding himself with the Bulgarian agents of the Moscow Pan Slavic Committees who had lately been responsible for the insurrections of 1876.⁵⁶

In Bulgaria, south of the Balkans, the Turks had their way and no Bulgarian or Russian government could function there until after the fall of Plevna in December. There seems to have been a repetition of the Turkish policy of massacre which had prevailed the year before. Mr. Rose, correspondent of the Scotsman newspaper, who accompanied the Russian army which advanced across the Balkans in the early days of the war, stated that in the town of Yeni-Zaghra there had been a massacre of six hundred men, women, and children. He saw other evidences in other places of the same sort of thing. For their part, the Bulgarians were not altogether guiltless of wanton bloodshed. When the Russian army came down across the Balkans for temporary occupation in the last days of July, there was a massacre of perhaps one hundred Turks, murdered, it would seem, not by the inhabitants, but by a band of Bulgarians that came down from the north, made desperate by ravages of the Turks the year before. They spared women and children as the Turks often did not.⁵⁷

⁵⁴Gorainoff, *La Bosphore et les Dardanelles*, p. 339.

⁵⁵Songeon, *Histoire de la Bulgarie*, pp. 337-38.

⁵⁶*Saturday Review*, Aug. 25, 1877, p. 226.

⁵⁷*Times*, July 7, 1877.

In November, 1877, while the Turks were invested at Plevna, an interesting document appeared. It was a proclamation issued by the Grand Vizier asking the Bulgarians to return to his protection and offering them pardon. According to Mr Drandar, at the time of the Conference at Constantinople, a statement professing loyalty to Turkey was issued by some pro-Turkish Bulgarians. The Turkish government hoped, perhaps, that, notwithstanding their cruelties, their reputation was not entirely gone.

For centuries you lived under the paternal egis of the Imperial Ottoman Government, you enjoyed your nationality and you practiced your religion in freedom and security. In a word, in living with your Mohammedan compatriots and in engaging freely in trade and industry, you offered an example of a perfectly happy family. A few blind men, misled and mistaken—a feeble minority—deceived by the deceitful promises of agitators have raised the standard of revolt. The Bulgarian subjects of the Sultan are invited to return to their allegiance and to enter again their homes assured of security in the present and in the future.⁸⁸

Soon after this, Plevna fell and there was nothing to check the Russian advance. Adrianople was taken, Constantinople threatened, and there was nothing for Turkey to do but to sue for peace.

⁸⁸*State Papers*, 1876-77, pp. 879-80 (condensed)

CHAPTER V •

THE TREATY OF SAN STEFANO AND THE TREATY OF BERLIN

Early in the war, before the Russians had crossed the Danube, they informed the British minister of Foreign Affairs what their terms of peace would be, if Turkey would yield before the Russians should cross the Balkans. They were as follows:

Bulgaria up to the Balkans to be made an autonomous vassal province, under the guarantee of Europe. The Turkish troops and officials to be removed from it and the fortresses disarmed and razed. Self-government to be established in it with the support of the national militia to be organized as soon as possible. The Powers to agree to assure to that part of Bulgaria south of the Balkans, as well as to other Christian provinces of Turkey, the best possible guarantees for a regular administration.

Certain provisions for Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina were also mentioned.¹

These conditions were not presented formally to the Sultan, but Mr. Layard sounded the Porte six weeks later and found that it would not consider them. The Turks at that time were confident after the successes at Plevna and Eski-Zagra.

After the Russians took Plevna, December 10th, 1877, the Turks in alarm appealed to the Powers to use their good offices to bring about a peace between them and the Russians, but the Powers were unwilling to interfere. A little later, the Turkish government appealed to Great Britain for mediation, "which we are convinced will not be refused by our ancient and constant friend." Upon this, Great Britain consulted the government of the Tsar and they replied that an armistice might be negotiated after Turkey had agreed to a basis for peace, and that Turkey should appeal to the commanders-in-chief in Europe and Asia for terms. After some further hesitation, that was done, and the armistice was signed on February 1. For some weeks after the taking of Plevna, the British government had been exceedingly nervous on account of the rapid Russian advance toward Constantinople. On January 17, Parliament had met two weeks earlier than planned and voted a fund to meet any emergency.

¹*Annual Register*, 1877, p. 236.

that might arise. On the twenty-third of January, the fleet had been ordered from Besika Bay to Constantinople, whereupon, Derby, who was strongly opposed to any war-like steps, had resigned. However, on the twenty-fourth² the government was reassured by news of the armistice and by the guarantee that Gallipoli would not be occupied. The order to the fleet was therefore countermanded and Derby returned to office. Hardly had the message reached Besika Bay, however, when England was again alarmed by the advance of the Russian army toward Constantinople. When Russia explained that the terms of the armistice permitted such movement of their troops, Great Britain was for the moment appeased, but a little later sent orders for a part of the fleet to move towards the Turkish capital. This time the Porte under Russian influence would not consent to the passage of the British ships, but the British government thought the occasion warranted disregard of the Turkish prohibition, and accordingly the fleet entered the sea of Marmora and anchored a short distance from the Russian land forces. "The Turks were moved and agitated at the insolence of the English," so a Russian writer said.³ It was a precarious situation, but it passed without any breach of the peace. On March 3, the treaty of San Stefano was signed.

By the terms of the armistice, a principality of Bulgaria was to be established within limits determined according to the majority of the Bulgarian population which should be no less than that indicated by the conference of Constantinople. About this time a document was issued expressing quite fully and clearly the Russian point of view as to the new Bulgaria. It was meant for the Austrian foreign office, but Oubril, Russian ambassador to Berlin, showed it to Bismarck before it was seen by Andrassy. Three aspects of the problem of Bulgaria were discussed, first, what degree of autonomy it should have, second, what should be its boundaries, and third, how long Russian troops should occupy it. These were matters for discussion among the diplomats before the congress of Berlin and at the congress, and this document sets forth what the Russians planned and succeeded in incorporating in the treaty of San

²The armistice was signed a week later.

³Max Hirschler in the *Revue de Paris*, July 15, 1897, p. 435.

Stefano when they had no one to deal with except defeated Turkey

The "de mi measures of Constantinople," the Russian document said, "were not applicable." Something more than administrative autonomy was necessary. If other powers had joined us to compel Turkey, the necessity would not have arisen, but now "complete autonomy with a simple tie of tributary vassalage and the removal of Turkish troops" must be insisted upon. The document continues

The principal objection made to the constitution of Bulgaria as a vassal state consists in the inconvenience of an autonomous state at the gates of Constantinople. It is said that it would be the ruin of the Turkish rule in Europe. But the programme of the conference implies the same result. Either the proposed reforms would be seriously applied, in which case they would have worked out for the people of Bulgaria in such a way as, in a certain time, to result in their moral and material ascendancy over the Mussulman population, and in consequence their predominance in the internal administration of the country, or else the reforms would have been illusory, in which case Europe would have sanctioned an abuse, which, after actual war, is out of the question. Neither the honor nor the interest of Europe is consistent with that. As for Russia her honor and her interest absolutely forbid it.

On the question of boundaries, the Russian foreign office said that Bulgaria was divided at the conference of Constantinople, because a large Bulgaria was felt to be incompatible with an Ottoman Empire of any consequence. The division had been longitudinal then, and it was far from the purpose of the powers to cut off the southern part of Bulgaria where the massacres had been, and where were the densest population, the most fertile, rich, and developed part of Bulgaria. With two Bulgarias, Europe could have no repose. The Powers should remember the experiment of dividing Roumania in two. Diplomatic Europe would be upset each time an attempt to unite them was made. It was not a time for artificial transactions.

Europe must either pronounce a decree of death upon the Bulgarian nationality in condemning it irrevocably in the name of European interests to succumb under the weight of Turkish oppression, increased by everything that fanaticism, hatreds, violence of one against another [has aroused], or else must grant to the Bulgarian nationality the imprescriptible right to exist,⁴ and also since an absolute separation of the two races is not judged possible, we proceed to a physical (de corps) separation which allows them to exist side by side. As for us, we must persist in our resolution upon this essential point of the

⁴Bismarck writes in the margin "u(nd) Polen?"

programme, for which *Russia made the war*, namely a Bulgaria united, compact, autonomous and tributary. We think that an autonomous state, far from being incompatible with the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire, is the only means of prolonging its existence by keeping quiet its Christian subjects

On the third phase of the Bulgarian question, Russia said that the principality could not be left to itself immediately after the peace when the foundations of social life had been nearly all destroyed. Mercenary adventurers were undesirable, the best troops would be those who were friendly to the inhabitants, who had fought for them and who would guarantee that the task accomplished should not be made of no account.

If, besides, it is judged necessary to find combinations such as will assure Europe a part in the accomplishment of that work in view of the general interests, we shall not refuse to talk things over with them, provided that they are inspired with the desire of advancing in a practical way the social education of the Bulgarian state, and not that of paralyzing in the embryo the national existence to which it is our purpose to call it.⁵

The principles of this "Russian orthodox sermon" were applied in the Treaty of San Stefano. Instead of administrative autonomy, it was provided that Bulgaria should be constituted as an "autonomous tributary Principality" with a Christian ruler and a national militia.

The Prince of Bulgaria shall be freely elected by the people and confirmed by the Sublime Porte with the assent of the Powers. No member of the reigning dynasties of the European Powers may be elected Prince of Bulgaria. An assembly of Bulgarian notables shall construct, before the election of the Prince, under the oversight of an Imperial Russian Commissioner, the organization of the future administration, conformably to precedents laid down in 1830, at the peace of Adrianople for the Danubian Principalities.

The amount of annual tribute was to be determined by a commission with members representing Russia, Turkey, and the Powers.⁶

In the article providing for the boundaries of Bulgaria, a single compact state was designated. The Bulgaria proposed in the terms announced in June, 1877, before the Russians had crossed the Danube was, it will be remembered, to extend only from the Danube to the Balkans. The conference Bulgaria was much larger, but was to be divided longitudinally. The Bul-

⁵*Cambridge Historical Journal*, I, 328-29.

⁶The Treaty of San Stefano is given in the *Annual Register*, 1878, Herstlet, etc.

garia of San Stefano was a little larger than that of the conference. The most important difference was the extension of the southern boundary so as to give Bulgaria a coast line on the Ægean Sea.

Other articles determined the part Russia was to play in the organization of the new Bulgaria. Paragraph five of article seven reads

The introduction of the new regime in Bulgaria and the oversight of its functioning shall be entrusted for two years to an Imperial Russian Cabinet. At the expiration of the first year after the introduction of the new regime, if an agreement on that subject is established by Russia, the Sublime Porte and the European Cabinets, they may, if it is judged necessary, add to the Imperial Russian Commission special Delegates.

Russian troops were to be stationed in Bulgaria until the Bulgarian militia could be organized "for the maintenance of order, security and tranquillity," and should number no more than 50,000 men.

Mr. Miller in the *Cambridge Modern History* calls the treaty a wholly Slavonic settlement, and of course it was.⁷ Perhaps Russia was not justified in taking such complete advantage of her victory as she did, yet the part of the treaty which aroused the most opposition, the creation of a great Bulgaria, had received the sanction of the Powers at the conference of Constantinople a little more than a year before. It was not to be wondered at that Greece, Serbia and the Albanians should be alarmed at the appearance among them of a new state larger than any of them. No doubt too, some Greeks were included in the southern part of the Bulgaria of San Stefano, and some Albanians and Serbians in the western part, to say nothing of the Turks in the east. The little states of the Balkans all protested, the Greeks sending an "erudite disquisition" to Great Britain and the Albanians forming a league "to resist until death." The creation of a new state, large or small, was a blow to the prestige of Turkey, but a great Bulgaria reaching the Ægean would completely sever her western possessions from the capital.

Russia seemed to have forgotten her treaty with Austria, which precluded the erection of a large Slav state in the Balkans, and promised Bosnia and Herzegovina to Austria as a reward

⁷ *Cambridge Modern History*, XII, 393

for her neutrality Not long after the signing of the treaty of San Stefano, however, Ignatieff was sent to Vienna to talk matters over with Count Andrassy They came to no agreement, Austria-Hungary's terms being considered too high. She demanded

1 An increase of Montenegrin territory to the north instead of to the east

2 Novibazar and Mitrovitza to be given Bosnia with an enlargement of Serbia toward the south instead of to the west

3 Bulgaria to go west to the railway line from Saloniki to Mitrovitza, thus cutting off the southwestern corner of the Bulgaria of San Stefano, but giving them Nish, as well as Sofia

4 Bosnia and Herzegovina to go to Austria and the rest of western Turkey to remain in her possession, or given autonomy under Turkish suzerainty

5 The Russian force in Bulgaria to be cut down to 20,000 men, to remain only six months, and the only connection between Bulgaria and Russia to be by way of Varna and Burgas on the Black Sea

There was no suggestion of a divided Bulgaria Andrassy thought a little should be cut off from Bulgaria in the region of Adrianople, but had no objection to her possession of a coast line on the Aegean He thought that with her only outlet on the Black Sea, she would be more likely to remain under Russian influence, than would be the case if she were more accessible to other European states by possessing ports on the Mediterranean⁸

Bismarck had expressed himself fully on the situation in a speech in the Reichstag on February 19th He had informed himself from the Kiepert maps, the most authentic source available, he said, and found the boundary laid down by the conference of Constantinople running somewhat north of the line of nationality in the east, though mixed with a Turkish population, and in the west running somewhat into regions with a large admixture of Albanians It was in this speech that Bismarck called himself the honest broker who wished to bring things to a successful conclusion, and said he did not wish to go the Napoleon way and be the dictator, but just the school master in Europe A congress of the powers had already been talked of and Bismarck was expecting to be asked to preside⁹ Another view, set forth by Windhorst, leader of the opposition to Bismarck was somewhat more far-sighted, at any rate more accord-

⁸*Die Grosse Politik*, Vol II, pp 252-57, see also map, p 176

⁹Fürst Bismarck als Redner, IX, 64-66

ing to Bismarck's actual policy. "I do not consider the interests of Germany in this conflict so small as we are taught to consider them to be," he said. "In my opinion, the main point of this Eastern problem lies in the question, big with responsibility toward the future—which of the two elements, German on the one hand, Slav on the other, is to dominate the world?" (Cries of "very true") "We must embrace the German interest in its universality."¹⁰

It was not Austria or Germany, but Great Britain that was determined to prevent the formation of the Greater Bulgaria. It is true she had consented to the conference Bulgaria which was nearly as large, but that was to have merely administrative autonomy and was to be divided. What is, perhaps, of more consequence, public opinion in Great Britain was quite different in the winter of 1877-8, from what it had been the winter before. Then the memory of the Bulgarian atrocities was fresh in the British mind, while a year later Russia had humbled Turkey and was at the gates of Constantinople. It was this winter that the London music halls were popularizing the famous rhyme

We do not want to fight, but by jingo if we do,

We have the ships, we have the men, we have the money too

The jingle of the music halls expressed pretty accurately the sentiments of the Queen and the ministry after the resignation of Carnarvon in February, and that of Derby in the last of March when troops from India were ordered to Malta.¹¹ Salisbury took the place of Derby. On April 1 was issued the Salisbury circular giving the official views of the government, while Beaconsfield in a speech before the House of Lords a few days later, repeated them.

Salisbury contended that no validity could be granted to the treaty of San Stefano unless it was made the subject of formal agreement among the parties to the Treaty of Paris, that all

¹⁰Windthorst on "Bones of a Pomeranian grenadier," Gabriel Hanotaux, *Contemporary France*, IV, 327

¹¹A memorandum written by Carnarvon just after his resignation, gives a clear and forcible account of the attitude and activities of the British Cabinet and its members during this period. He speaks of the conviction which "not only I, but many of my colleagues entertained," that Disraeli was determined to force us into an alliance with Turkey and a war with Russia. Sir Arthur Hardinge, *Fourth Earl of Carnarvon*, III, 371

questions raised in the recent treaty must be submitted to the Powers. In answer to the Russian assertion that the government reserved to itself the liberty of accepting, or not, the discussion by the Powers of any question raised concerning the treaty, Salisbury insisted that all questions must be submitted to the Powers. "Every material stipulation which it contains involves a departure from the treaty of 1856." Salisbury specifically objected to the new Bulgaria. It would be a strong Slav state under the "auspices and control of Russia," with harbors on the Black and Ægean Seas and "conferring on that Power a preponderating influence over political and commercial relations in those seas." Besides,

It will be so constituted as to merge in the dominating Slav majority a considerable mass of population which is Greek in race and sympathy, and which views with alarm the prospect of absorption into a community alien to it, not only in nationality, but in political tendency and in religious allegiance. The provisions by which this new state is to be subjected to a ruler whom Russia will practically choose, its administration framed by a Russian Commissary, and the first workings of its institutions commenced under a Russian army, sufficiently indicate the political system of which in the future, it is to form a part.

The great objection to the treaty was the increase in Russian influence. As a consequence of that, Turkish influence, which meant at this period British influence, was considerably decreased.

Prince Gortchakoff replied to Salisbury's circular and took issue with some of his conclusions in regard to Bulgaria. "It is not accurate to say," he began, "that the Treaty of San Stefano has created a new Bulgaria, or a very strong Slav State under the control of Russia. Bulgaria existed, though in a state of oppression. Europe perceived this, and was desirous of providing a remedy." He argued that the Bulgaria, established in germ by the conference of Constantinople, was brought to maturity by the treaty of San Stefano. Moreover, the treaty of San Stefano was only a preliminary one to be applied later after "technical studies, an exact appreciation of geographical necessities, and the conciliation of numerous interests."

He believed that "The Treaty of San Stefano has not placed the new state under the control of Russia. The Imperial Cabinet has done only what it accomplished in 1830 for Moldo-

Wallachia " Some of Prince Gortchakoff's arguments may have been less sound than clever, but the past history of Moldo-Wallachia and the future history of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumeha both are witnesses to the wisdom of his next observation "It may be added," he said, "that if Moldo-Wallachia, which owes its existence to, and borders upon Russia, has been able to make itself independent of her, with yet stronger reason should one count on the same result for Bulgaria, the territory of which would be separated from Russia, in the foreseen event of a cession of the Dobroudja to Roumania."

The term of two years occupation by Russian troops was thought necessary for the establishing of order, but the Imperial Cabinet was willing to shorten it if it seemed best.

"The delimitation of Bulgaria has been indicated only in general terms," he continues, "The sole principle which is laid down is that of the majority of the population, and, certainly, any more equitable and rational can hardly be imagined " As for the assignment to Bulgaria of ports on the Black Sea, "the Constantinople Conference itself decided that unless these countries debouched on the sea, they could not prosper " As for the possession of the Ægean ports, "The commercial development of Bulgaria has alone been in view Certainly Russia will not profit by this development so much as England and those Powers whose Mediterranean commerce—much more active than that of Russia—has always been a powerful lever for the maintenance of their political influence "

Gortchakoff denied that the preliminary treaty in any way placed Bulgaria under the domination of a chief chosen by Russia, claiming that there were provisions in the treaty which prevented that

Also, the provisional measures taken by the Russian authorities for the administration of the country are far from being framed with the view, as has been affirmed, of making Bulgaria a part of the Russian political system Almost no change has been made in the institutions to which the country was accustomed The State of siege to which the country was reduced during the war rendered the nomination of Russian governors indispensable Bulgarians have in all quarters been appointed vice governors in order that after the peace, these vice governors may serve without causing any interruption in the administration of the country The exclusive object of all these provisional measures has been to protect the national development, and to render

possible the reunion of the first Bulgarian Assembly called to regulate the institutions of the principality ¹²

To compose these differences four months of negotiations and a congress at Berlin lasting another month were necessary. Austria first proposed a congress shortly after the armistice of January 31. It was hoped to have it in March, but Great Britain and Russia could not agree as to the scope of the congress. The former continued to insist on Russia's submitting the whole treaty to discussion, and on possible revision by the assembled Powers, while Russia was willing to have discussed only those articles which Russia should judge to be of European interest. Finally Schouvaloff visited London, and, with Salisbury, drew up a secret agreement as to what both Great Britain and Russia would insist upon at the Congress. Following are the essential terms of this understanding, so far as they applied to Bulgaria.

1. England discarded the longitudinal division of Bulgaria.
2. Bulgaria was to have no Ægean port.
3. The western frontier was to be rectified.
4. Bulgaria was to be divided into two provinces separated by the Balkans.
5. The troops of Turkey were to retreat from South Bulgaria. England reserved the right to insist upon the right of the Sultan to canton troops on the frontiers of South Bulgaria.
6. The superior officers of militia in South Bulgaria were to be named by the Porte ¹³.

Neither party agreed to abstain from any effort to have these terms modified, but it was understood that neither England nor Russia would go to war for anything not agreed to in the memorandum.

Schouvaloff has made the following interesting comment on his negotiations with the British government:

From the opening of our negotiations, I perceived that England's chief object was the division of Bulgaria into two parts with the line of the Balkans left to the Sultan as a means of defence against our future aggressions. However serious was the change of frontier in Asia Minor, and the Abandonment of Kars to Russia, and of Batoum, especially it was the question of the Balkans which loomed most largely in the eyes of the British government. This was an error on the part of Lord Salisbury and Lord Beaconsfield. It was evident that the separation of Northern Bulgaria from Southern Bulgaria would be but

¹²The *Annual Register*, 1878, gives the Salisbury circular, the reply of Gortchakoff, and the treaties of San Stefano and Berlin.

¹³*Annual Register*, 1878, pp. 245-47.

factitious, even with the defence of the Balkans left to Turkey, and I remember suggesting to Lord Salisbury when he was considering names for these two Bulgarias, that one should be termed "Bulgaria Satisfied," and the other "Bulgaria Discontented" ¹⁴

The "Schouvaloff memorandum" was designed to be kept secret from France, Italy, Austria, and the British public, but on the morning of June 14th it was published in the *London Globe* much to the disgust and surprise of Salisbury and Beaconsfield. An under clerk who had been given the document to copy was responsible for letting it out. It was on this occasion that Salisbury lied and defended himself afterward for doing so. He said in Parliament that the version of the memorandum published was "wholly unauthentic," although in fact it was all correct except in one particular of no great importance. Public opinion, at least among diplomats, was that Salisbury's offense was much less than that of those responsible for making the document public. No one thought of objecting to this exhibition of secret diplomacy, unless it may have been those who thought that they should have been included among the sharers of the secret.

With Austria, as well as Russia, Great Britain made an agreement as to common action at the Congress. They were to act together to limit the boundaries of Bulgaria, to assure the Sultan adequate political and military supremacy in the territory excluded, to limit Russian occupation in the Balkan region in time and number of men, to substitute European for Russian commissioners in certain articles of the treaty of San Stefano. Last, but by no means least, England was to support any proposition with respect to Bosnia which Austria might make at the Congress ¹⁵

The Congress met in Berlin June 13th and completed its business in just a month. The most distinguished statesmen of Europe were there, Gortchakoff and Schouvaloff for Russia, Beaconsfield and Salisbury for England, Waddington for France, Corti for Italy, Andrassy for Austria-Hungary, and Bismarck as president. The principal purpose of the Congress was to prevent Russia from becoming the dominating power in the near East. That was made possible by the pre-Congress

¹⁴From Schouvaloff's unpublished memoirs in Hanotaux, *op cit*, IV, 335-36

¹⁵*English Historical Review*, January, 1926, p. 111

reement of Russia and Great Britain. At the same time, it was recognized that Russia must be compensated for her sacrifices and also that the Christians of the Balkans must be, so far as convenient, protected from Turkish oppression. The best way to check Russian ambitions, the Congress thought, was to set down Bulgaria.

They decided that instead of the one big Bulgaria, there could be two, as in the Schouvaloff memorandum, and a third portion given back to Turkey. The first Bulgaria was to have the powers and the degree of freedom promised the San Stefano Bulgaria. The second was to have administrative autonomy. The first Bulgaria was to extend south to the Balkans. There was some discussion as to whether the sandjak of Sofia should be included, but, inasmuch as this region was largely Bulgarian in population, the city of Sofia and a part of the district was added, but not Nish, although that was Bulgarian too. Varna on the Black Sea was given to Bulgaria instead of to the southern province. Bulgaria proper contained somewhat less than two million inhabitants, and 24,861 square miles. The second Bulgaria was smaller, containing about three quarters of a million inhabitants, and 13,663 square miles.¹⁰ Philippopolis was its principal city and Bourgas its Black Sea port. It was in this province that the Bulgarian atrocities of May, 1876, had occurred. Beaconsfield insisted that it should not be called South Bulgaria, that if it were, it would be impossible to keep them from uniting. So it was called Eastern Roumelia, and thus it was made known to its Bulgarian inhabitants that they were to become Roumelians and not remain of the same nationality as their brothers farther north. As for the rest of the big Bulgaria, there were some provisions on paper for the good government of these regions, but, apart from those, the Christians were thrown back upon the mercy of the Turks. There was considerable interference among European statesmen as to the fate of the Christian subjects of the Porte. They were held to be not very good Christians, and, even if they were, European interests, or rather the interests of each European Power, were of too much importance to be neglected for the welfare of a people partly civilized.

¹⁰Figures from A. Chaunier, *La Bulgarie, étude diplomatique et de droit international*, and reduced from square kilometers.

and of an inferior type of Christianity. The portions of the great Bulgaria given back to Turkey were mostly to the south and southwest. Pirot, to the northwest went to Serbia and a small region in the southwest went to Turkey. The Ægean ports were lost to Bulgaria, the old capital city of Ochrida, Monastir, and Seres, the valleys of the Struma and the Vardar. There was talk of constituting a Western Roumelia, but that was not done. Also the Dobroudja, the northeastern portion, was taken for Roumania.

Another matter for discussion at the Congress was the time during which the Russians should occupy Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia. The treaty of San Stefano said two years, but the Congress decided that nine months was enough. But the subject which proved the most difficult and over which the Congress nearly broke up was the occupation of the Balkan frontier of Eastern Roumelia by Turkish troops. Russia contended that it was not safe to allow Turkish troops in South Bulgaria, Great Britain, that, in the county south of the Balkans, the Sultan should exercise real political and military power. Beaconsfield was very firm in his tone, and insisted so decidedly, that he had his way. "I have to hold terribly firm language,"¹⁷ he said, and he seemed proud of his success. It was on this occasion that he had a train ordered for Calais, and probably would have taken it, if Russia had not given in. He got much glory from his victory, but it was a fruitless one, as Turkish troops never were introduced into Eastern Roumelia.

The treaty of Berlin repeated the provision of that of San Stefano in regard to the prince. An assembly of Bulgarian notables, convoked to meet at Tirnovo, was to construct a constitution for the principality. In localities where Bulgarians were mixed with Turks, Roumanians, Greeks, or others, they should be given a voice in elections and constitution making. No discrimination was to be allowed on account of religious belief. Religious freedom was to be assured all cults and sects. The provisional government of Bulgaria, to last no longer than nine months, was to be directed by a Russian Commissioner with an Ottoman Commissioner and Consuls delegated by the Powers to assist. Whatever international obligations the Otto-

¹⁷Buckle, *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, VI, 324

man government had incurred, must be fulfilled by the Bulgarian government, such as those allowing extra-territoriality, commercial treaties, and charges for railroads constructed. Tribute was to be paid by Bulgaria to Turkey, and Bulgaria was to assume a proportional share of the Ottoman debt, the amount in each case to be determined by the signatory powers. The Ottoman army was not to stay any longer in Bulgaria, and all the fortresses were to be razed at the expense of the Principality within a year or less.

Eastern Roumelia was to remain under the political and military authority of the Sultan. The degree of autonomy granted it was partly determined by treaty, but was to be further defined by an International Commission. By the treaty, internal order was to be maintained by a native gendarmerie and a local militia made up according to the religion of the inhabitants. The officers were to be named by the Sultan. Frontier forces were to consist of soldiers of the Sultan, but must not be bashi-bazouks or Circassians. The regular soldiers must not be quartered on the people, and must not tarry as they passed through. In case of necessity, the governor-general could call in Turkish troops, but, in such case, the Sublime Porte must apprise the representatives of the Powers at Constantinople, and tell why the use of the troops was necessary. The governor-general of East Roumelia must be a Christian, and was to be appointed by the Porte with the assent of the Powers for a term of five years. The powers and attributes of the governor-general, as well as the administrative, judicial, and financial regime of the province were to be based on the present laws of the vilayets, and the proposals made at the eighth session of the conference of Constantinople. The European Commission, in accord with the Porte, was to be charged with the duty of administering the finances of the province until the regular government should be instituted.

As was the case with Bulgaria, treaties in force at the ratification of the treaty of Berlin were to remain in force, but, as was not provided for Bulgaria, new treaties made were to be in force in Eastern Roumelia just as in other parts of Turkey. Russian troops not to exceed 50,000 men were to remain in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia for nine months.

The treaty of Berlin was looked upon as a defeat for Russia and a triumph for the British and Austrians. Beaconsfield went home elated and spoke of peace with honor, although some provisions taken over from the treaty of San Stefano, he had denounced a few weeks earlier. In a letter to Sir Drummond Wolff written November 4th, 1880, Beaconsfield wrote.

Next to making a tolerable settlement for the Porte, our great object was to break up and permanently prevent the alliance of the three Empires, and I maintain there never was a great diplomatic result more completely effected. Of course, it does not appear in the protocols, it was realized by personal influence alone, both with Andrassy and Bismarck (Beaconsfield's spelling)¹⁸

Salisbury's later judgment was not so favorable, for he concluded that he had backed the wrong horse. That the motives of the Powers were selfish goes without saying, for the time had not yet come when a higher standard than that of Nietzsche and Machiavelli could prevail. Russia, who, when she entered the war, showed a good deal of enthusiasm for the deliverance of her brother Slavs, became convinced before the war was over that she must be compensated for her sacrifices. So, at the end of the war, she was responsible for the meanest thing that happened at the Congress of Berlin, the taking of Bessarabia from Roumania, who had been her ally during the war. She also secured a strip of Asia Minor from Turkey. The revision of the treaty of San Stefano also gave Austria the administration of the northwestern possessions of Turkey, and Great Britain, that of Cyprus. This was not a partitioning of Turkey, Beaconsfield argued, though to his critics it looked much like one, and it seemed strange for one who stuckled so for the integrity of Turkey to acquire a Turkish province and consent to the acquisition of another by Austria. Such criticism Beaconsfield regarded as superficial, for Turkey he claimed would be strengthened by enabling her to concentrate her efforts on a more compact territory. The French, Germans, and Italians got nothing directly by the treaty. The French in the discussions it was claimed, "put the interest of humanity above those of European equilibrium" while the Germans "recognize only egotism."¹⁹

¹⁸Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, *Rambling Recollections*, II, 265

¹⁹d'Avril, *Négociations relatives au traité de Berlin*, pp. 330, quoting the *Pall Mall Gazette*

To one interested in the welfare and progress of the Bulgarians, the treaty of San Stefano seems preferable to that of Berlin. Events showed that the influence Russia was to have in Bulgaria was much overrated. No doubt Bulgaria ought not to have been divided, and ought to have had an outlet on the *Ægean*. The separation of the two Bulgarias upon which Great Britain so strenuously insisted, was fruitless and a source of much irritation and a possible cause of war. The exclusion of Western Roumelia put back under the wretched rule of the Turks many Bulgarians and other Slavs.

BULGARIA FROM 1878 TO 1881

When the Turks were driven out of Bulgaria, the administration was taken over by the Russians, as provided in the treaty¹ and Prince Vladimir Tcherkaski was put at the head. Under him, in one capacity or another, were employed all those Bulgarians, who seemed qualified by intelligence and experience. Tcherkaski died at San Stefano on the day of the signing of the treaty at that place, and Prince Alexander Dondoukoff-Koïsakoff was put in his place. He seems to have been a competent administrator, and was well liked by the Bulgarians. Being very wealthy, he kept open table and his liberality no doubt added to his popularity. He strove to govern with an iron hand in a silken glove.² After the treaty of Berlin was ratified he left Philippopolis and went to Tirnovo leaving General Stolypin as governor of Eastern Roumelia. Dondoukoff's sympathies were with the Pan-Slavists, and he was very indignant that the European Powers had robbed Russia of the fruits of victory. He told one of the British Commissioners that he would put every obstacle in the way of carrying out the English programme, that there was no use disguising the fact, they were face to face as enemies, and that he and his countrymen were, as it were, upon their trial. He ridiculed the Treaty of Berlin, the Rhodope Commission, the Eastern Roumelia Commission, and everything that had been done at, or since, the Congress, applying to them such expressions as Offenbachisms, comedies and bouffonades.³ He was accused of promoting demonstrations against the Treaty, and of inspiring the people with a spirit of hostility against the Turks.⁴ In December, 1878, he visited the Tsar at Livadia and received the Emperor's approval of his course.⁵ However, in May, 1879, the Tsar issued an ukase to

¹P 89, *supra*

²Jiracek, *Das Fürstenthum Bulgarien*, p. 317. The Marquis of Bath speaks highly of him as an administrator in his book on Bulgarian Affairs.

³*Parlia Papers, 1878-79, Turkey, No. 9*, pp. 33-35, 54.

⁴*Times*, June 14, 1879.

⁵So the *Times* correspondent said. *Ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1878.

the Bulgarian people of Eastern Roumelia, urging them to accept and carry out the Treaty ⁶

With the exception of Dondoukoff at the head, advisory consuls of foreign Powers, and a Turkish Commissioner, also advisory, most of the administrative force were Bulgarians. "At the beginning of 1879, the new civil administration consisted of 2,121 Bulgarians, namely, 768 appointed, and 1,353 elected, and 150 Russians. The judicial and instruction services were wholly Bulgarian."⁷ To put the army on a more substantial footing, a large number of guns were given them by the Russian government and, in addition, 20,000 horses as a present from the Tsar. Money was contributed by Russians to restore most of the 400 churches damaged during the war ⁸

To set the new government going the Bulgarians must, first, make a constitution, and, second, choose a prince. To frame the constitution, an assembly was gathered together of 231 notables, partly elected, partly appointed by the Russian Commissioner, partly ex-officio, or representing special interests. They made a good impression on the *Times* correspondent. Nearly two-thirds could speak French, about half French and German, and a dozen knew English ⁹. Before the constitution was discussed, an attempt was made to get the assembly to send a petition to the Powers for a union of all Bulgarian lands. There were present in Tirnovo at this time representatives from Eastern Roumelia and Macedonia who had been asked to come by Dondoukoff. The discussion of Bulgarian union delayed matters until a telegram from Gortschakoff threw cold water on the design to present an official memorial to the Powers. Other European agents, also, said that it would be impossible to transmit officially, or to accept a petition contrary to the treaty of

⁶*Ibid*, May 10, 1879

⁷Jiracek, *op cit*, 318

⁸*Ibid*, p. 317

⁹Dr Washburn, however, observing the other side of the picture says "The assembly was unique, made up largely of peasants, many of them in their sheepskin clothes, and I think there was no one in the assembly who knew anything about parliamentary law except the old students of Robert College who were then in force," *Fifty Years in Constantinople*, p. 173. There may be a confusion of the assembly chosen to make the constitution and the one elected to choose a prince.

Berlin ¹⁰ So the plan was given up, or at least modified, so that the document when presented to the representatives of the Powers was unofficial, and did not receive the endorsement of the Assembly, only of some of its members and the delegations from outside Bulgaria ¹¹ The Russian Commissioner, Prince Dondoukoff, naturally influenced the deliberations in an important way They had the assistance also of the Russian expert, Lukijanoff, and of other advice from Russia which was nearly always in the direction of liberalism Just then liberal ideas were in the Russian air ¹² The constitution was based largely on that of Serbia The first draft, approved by Dondoukoff, provided for two houses, both to be in part appointed by the Prince On the nature of the constitution, two parties were formed, one led by Tsankoff, Karaveloff, and Slaveikoff in favor of liberalizing it, the other led by Volkovitch, Nacovitch, Grecoff, and Stoiloff The Liberals for the most part were educated in Russia, the Conservatives in France The latter feared that Bulgaria was too inexperienced in political matters to be given much freedom at first They proposed trying the constitution as drafted for five years, then, if it seemed best, amending it The Liberals, however, opposed this plan, and, proving to be in the majority, had their way The upper house was done away with, all of the lower house was to be elected, and the constitution was not to be subject to revision for five years The Russians were not averse to the changes Dondoukoff in his opening speech before the Assembly had assured them that the draft presented was only a programme, and that they were expected to speak freely and make changes if they thought best One reason given for Russia's allowing, and, even favoring changes in the direction of liberalism, is that by this means Bulgaria might outbid the Eastern Roumelian constitution makers, and so make the Southern Bulgarians more eager to unite with them.¹³ Dondoukoff may have had reasons of his own for wishing the change Those who believe he had, say that, when the original draft was presented to the Assembly, he was hopeful of being made Prince In March, however, word came from the Russian

¹⁰Queillé, *Les commencements de l'indépendance bulgare*, p. 14

¹¹*Times*, Mar. 3, and Apr. 7, 1879

¹²Staneff, *Geschichte der Bulgarien*, p. 58

¹³Jiracek, *op. cit.*, p. 321

government that it would be impossible for a Russian subject to be given that dignity¹⁴. So they say he desired a constitution for Bulgaria that would not work too smoothly and would necessitate the interference of some good friend to compose the difficulties, that good friend, if not himself, would be some other Russian¹⁴. This Assembly closed after twenty-seven sessions, on April 28th, and the concluding protocol was signed by the Russian and Turkish Commissioners, the representatives of the Great Powers, and two hundred and eight deputies¹⁵.

Before the Treaty of Berlin was signed, the question of who should be made Prince of Bulgaria was discussed. At first some thought he should come from the Bulgarians themselves, and it was determined that a committee of eminent Bulgarians should be appointed to select a prince from the Christian population of the country. The Voghordes family, which had been prominent earlier, was thought of. The candidate they had to offer became, a little later, the governor of Eastern Roumelia, but his name was soon dropped as a candidate for the throne of the principality¹⁶. A little later there was agitation for the election of the Prince of Montenegro¹⁷. The Prince of Roumania had been approached on the subject by the Tsar before the treaty of San Stefano had been signed, but Kail just then did not feel like following the suggestions of the Tsar who had just been stealing Bessarabia. Later in the year, however, he wrote to Alexander of Battenberg that if Alexander did not heed the call, "I am ready to take over the duties of the government"¹⁸. Salisbury thought him not eligible as a member of one of the ruling families of Europe, though his kingdom could hardly be called one of the Great Powers. When it was thought a Russian might be allowed to serve, Count Ignatieff was talked of, and quite probably he or Prince Dondoukoff might have been elected if the Tsar had not vetoed the choice of any Russian. Other can-

¹⁴Corti, *Prince Alexander*, pp. 58-59.

¹⁵Jiracek, *op cit*, p. 32. Quellé says that the Turkish delegate did not sign because of the words in the document, "Liberator of Bulgaria," and that the Austrian delegate did not sign, and did not go to the Te Deum and banquet held in celebration. *Op cit*, p. 9.

¹⁶*Times*, June 28, July 1, 1878.

¹⁷*Ibid*, Oct. 14.

¹⁸Corti, *op cit*, p. 56.

didates considered were Prince Henry of Reuss, German ambassador at the Austro-Hungarian Court, Vlademar of Denmark, and Alexander of Battenberg. These were the three names presented to the National Assembly meeting on April 29, 1879, and elected for the special purpose of choosing a Prince. Dondoukoff opened the proceedings, then the three candidates were put in nomination. There was no hesitation, the minds of the delegates were made up, and Alexander of Battenberg was elected by acclamation. He was apprised of his election by the following declaration:

The representatives of the Bulgarian people appreciating your noble qualities and certain that your Highness will not only be imbued with the interests of Bulgaria, but will defend them to the utmost of your power, as you have already defended them during the war of liberation, have confided to you lofty sentiments, the future destinies of their country, electing you voluntarily, and with unanimity Prince of Bulgaria.¹⁹

The Russian minister, Giers, claimed to have found Alexander and recommended him to the Tsar.²⁰ Accordingly, he was the candidate of Russia. Since she was the European power most interested, everyone expected that the Russian government would have much to say about the election. Without doubt, the knowledge that Alexander was the Russian candidate accounted for the enthusiasm with which he was accepted by the Bulgarian National Assembly. However, he was not objectionable to the other governments. He was in a way a European personality. His father was German, his mother Polish, and a cousin had married one of Queen Victoria's daughters.²¹ Alexander's aunt, his father's sister, was the Tsarina. Moreover, his father, Prince of Hesse Darmstadt, had been an Austrian gen-

¹⁹*Times*, May 8, 1879, quoting from the *Cologne Gazette*.

²⁰Corti, *op. cit.*, p. 56. Schouvaloff told Baddeley that he was responsible for the appointment of Prince Alexander. Schouvaloff went to Bismarck with the suggestion, who said that he didn't object, if Andrassy did not. Then Schouvaloff went to Andrassy who was at first opposed to the candidacy of Alexander, but who after half an hour's persuasion yielded. Schouvaloff said that the Tsar at first was angry that Alexander did not refuse the throne, for the Tsar had only supported him out of politeness, having some one else in mind. The Tsarina also did not approve. "Quoi donc, cet imbécile là?" she said. Baddeley, *Russia in the Eighties*, p. 407.

²¹Later his brother Henry married another.

eral, and he himself had served with the Russian army in the war against Turkey. "The man who was about to undertake the task of presiding over the new Bulgarian state had much in his favor. He was tall and imposing, of military bearing, and seems to have been of more than average intelligence. However, he was only twenty-two years old, and the difficulties he would have to meet as ruler of a new state with a people not having much political experience were neither few nor small."²² He hesitated about accepting, and his father advised him not to accept unless the constitution just framed should be altered and the Prince given more power. The Tsar, however, would not hear of a refusal. "He reproached the Prince that he should make such difficulties, appealed to the loyalty and love of his nephew, and was finally so moved that tears ran down his cheeks." He promised also to telegraph Dondoukoff to have a paragraph added to the constitution that, if in the course of time, a provision should be found impracticable, the Prince might take the initiative in having it nullified. Dondoukoff answered, "The order of Your Majesty is executed." So Alexander consented to become Prince of Bulgaria. While he was with the Tsar there came a delegation from Bulgaria to greet him and to express their gratitude to the Tsar. Alexander II received them with the words, "From my hands receive your Prince, love him as I love him."²³

Before going to Bulgaria, the Prince thought it best to make a tour of Western Europe in order to visit the courts of the Great Powers. The journey was to be undertaken, first, to thank the Powers who had helped to create the new Bulgaria, and then to expound to them, very carefully and candidly, his views on the difficulties and responsibilities of the task entrusted to him;

²²Lord Carnarvon who met him after his abdication in 1887 says "He is striking and attractive in manner, and on the whole, equal to his general reputation, simple, frank, soldierly." Hardinge, *op cit*, III, 237. Klæber in his life of the Prince says that even his enemies came altogether "sous son charme," p. 65. On the other hand, Dr. Roy thought him rather a diplomat than a soldier, though a debutant at diplomacy, sometimes letting escape intimate sentiments. "He never engages himself, and if perchance he does, he keeps always in reserve a way out." Dr. Chas. Roy, *Souvenirs politique*, p. 158. Von Huhn in his "Struggle of the Bulgarians," etc. says "Prince Alexander is a wise statesman, a brave soldier, a remarkable man in every way," p. 6.

²³Corti, *op cit*, p. 63.

thirdly, to ask the Powers to execute all obligations affecting Bulgaria. It would be impossible for him to do his duty by Bulgaria without good order in Eastern Roumelia. The organic statute should be fully applied there and Turkey should abandon her attempt to garrison the Balkan frontier. Fourthly, he took upon himself to ask for reforms in Macedonia in accordance with Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin.²⁴ He had a talk with Andrassy in Vienna, with Bismarck in Berlin, and, in England, with Beaconsfield, Salisbury, and the Queen. He has left an account of his interview with Andrassy, and may be supposed to have said something of the same sort to the others. In this interview, the Prince said that the separation of the two Bulgarias was due to the ignorance of Lord Beaconsfield concerning the character and efforts of the Bulgarian people, that Beaconsfield had no idea as to what the separation of the two Bulgarias meant. The Prince also said that he feared the movement for union would become so strong that the whole would unite and "like an avalanche, overthrow Prince, ministry, Berlin treaty, and everything that stood in the way."²⁵ His interview with Bismarck was not long or important. It is commonly told that Bismarck advised him to take the place offered him, that it would be a pleasant recollection in his old age; but according to Bismarck himself, it was Prince Karl of Roumania to whom he said it.²⁶ When Alexander arrived in England, Queen Victoria granted him an interview at Balmoial in Scotland, although she was not accustomed to receive any one there. Evidently she wished to be friendly, indeed she showed her friendship later.

Before going to Bulgaria, the Prince thought it best to visit the Sultan in Constantinople. Since he was not well received there his visit was a short one. On July 8, 1879, he took the oath to the constitution at Turnovo, and on July 13th, was at Sofia, the capital. This city was nowhere near the centre of the

²⁴From the *Russian Messenger* in the *Times* of June 2, 1879.

²⁵From a manuscript in his own handwriting in the Hartenau Archives. Corti, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

²⁶*Ibid.* Corti refers to Wipperman, *Bismarck in Ruhestand*, S. 31. Wolff in his *Rambisng Recollections* tells this remark of Bismarck's. "This question (a provision of the treaty of Berlin) will have to be treated by the Prince of Bulgaria—if there exists in the world a being unfortunate enough to take that position," II, 194.

country. Located in the southwestern corner, it reached down into Macedonia and suggested a future extension in that direction. Its location, moreover, made it somewhat more difficult for Serbia to take a portion of Bulgaria some time in the future. Alexander was greeted with continuous ovations on the way from Turnovo to Sofia. At Sofia there was a procession and triumphal arches. In the procession Stambouloff carried a banner with the inscription "Remember all-Bulgarians," held especially high.²⁷ On a triumphal arch was the greeting "Welcome, Prince, we have expected you for 500 years."²⁸

So things started with great good will, but it was too much to expect that they should continue to run smoothly. The Prince was young and inexperienced, and so was his principality. Then the Prince came with a prepossession against the new constitution, and to ardent Pan-Slavists like Dondoukoff he was not acceptable because he was German. It will be remembered that the Tsar had secured a promise from Dondoukoff to insert a provision allowing the Prince to change the constitution if it should prove unworkable. Either Dondoukoff did not want to have the clause added, or could not get the consent of the Assembly to such a provision, for the clause inserted provided that no change in the constitution could be made without the consent of two-thirds of the Ordinary Assembly, the change to be voted on also by the Great Assembly elected for the purpose.²⁹ The Prince's experiences from the first confirmed him in the opinion that the constitution should be changed, and he be given more power.

The Prince tried for twenty-two months to play his part under this constitution and then became convinced that he could not make it go. A brief summary of his experiences will show us how he came to lose his patience. He found in existence the two political parties or factions which had formed themselves in the assembly that had adopted the constitution. It was to be expected that he would find the members of the Conservative party more congenial. They were, besides having views more in accordance with those of the Prince, perhaps more gracious in

²⁷Staneff, *op cit*, p. 95.

²⁸*Times*, July 15, 1879.

²⁹The Bulgarians had two assemblies, one the legislative, the other called upon to act upon any change in the constitution.

manner, due to contact with Western Europe. Queillé, at least, describes the Liberal leader Karaveloff as a "bear in manners, his head covered with a forest of long curly locks, his shoulders like those of an Atlas carrying the world."³⁰ His advisers had named to Prince Alexander the leading Bulgarians who might be available for his ministry, both Liberals and Conservatives; and Alexander, hoping to avail himself of all the talent at hand, tried a coalition cabinet. Tsankoff, however, would not serve with Grecoff, and the Prince appointed a ministry of the Right. In October, an election was held for an Assembly and the party of Tsankoff and Karaveloff won. Alexander did not understand how "people who kneel before me and kiss my stirrups can let themselves be led by those whom they know to be my enemies and whose perfidy they have proof of."³¹ The position taken by the Prince in making himself definitely a member of the Conservative party was one of the unfortunate elements of the situation. Nevertheless, he did ask Karaveloff to form a ministry in harmony with the majority in the Assembly. Unfortunately the leader was unable to do so, because, it was said, his party was so lacking in good men.³² The *Times* correspondent was probably nearest the truth when he gave other reasons for the failure of Karaveloff. Alexander insisted, he said, that Karaveloff should keep Grecoff and Natchovitch in his ministry, but Karaveloff refused saying, "How can we accept these men as our associates in the cabinet when the National Assembly has just censured them by an overwhelming majority?" Alexander, not having been educated up to the British idea of ministerial responsibility, dissolved the Assembly and appointed a conservative ministry.³³ Soon another election was held. The result, as before, was in favor of the Liberals. This time the Prince thought it best to accept a ministry of the Liberals, and Tsankoff succeeded in getting one together. He served until November, when he was forced to resign under circumstances to be recounted later. Karaveloff, who had been given a place in Tsankoff's cabinet, now took his place as premier and remained in power until May, 1881.

³⁰Queillé, *op cit*, p. 64

³¹*Ibid*, p. 29

³²Lamy in *Le correspondant*, Dec. 25, 1908, p. 1055

³³*Times*, Dec. 29, 1879, Jiracek, *op cit*, p. 325

The first assembly which the Prince called did not accomplish anything during its six weeks session. In the early days of the session it spent much time in a discussion over the way the Prince should be addressed, whether with the title "Visochevostoi," Highness, or "Svetlos," Splendor, the constitution designating the latter, and Alexander and his friends insisting on the former. At other times and in other matters, he clashed with his Assembly. The second Assembly under the lead of Stambuloff put through a law denying citizenship to any one not born in Bulgaria. Apparently the law was aimed at Grecoff who was born in Roumania. The Prince induced them to withdraw the bill by a threat to dissolve the Chamber.³⁴ The Assembly, too, was disorderly and would not allow the Conservative minority to be heard.³⁵ It would not appropriate money for the reconstruction of the palace. According to Drandar that was one of the principal reasons for the coup d'état which Alexander brought about a little later. There was pressure upon the Prince to get incompetents into offices, some of whom, he complained, could not read and write.³⁶ He believed that those who held office, from the highest official to the last gendarme, were corrupt, and that every law proposed for two years had the most selfish purposes for its basis. During Karaveloff's ministry in 1881, the Prince was receiving petitions from all parts of the country complaining of arbitrary and illegal proceedings of the ministry. Outsiders were admitted into the council of ministers, threatening instructions were sent to the courts, judges, he learned, were arbitrarily removed, election returns for local officials were falsified. In one city, the mayor was imprisoned for sending a petition to the Prince, and the Prince himself was unable to get him released.³⁷ Concession hunters, Bulgarians, and foreigners helped to make life miserable for him,³⁸ and not the least of his burdens was the presence of the Russians in the country.

About the time Alexander arrived in Bulgaria, the Russian troops who had been there since the war were removed, but some

³⁴A. G. Drandar, *Cinquante ans de règne*, p. 53, Lamy, *op. cit.*, p. 1058.

³⁵Drandar, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

³⁶Corti, *op. cit.*, p. 84, Queillé, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

³⁷Corti, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-8; *Parha Papers, 1881, Turkey No. 1*, p. 2.

³⁸Queillé, *op. cit.*, p. 70, Interview of correspondent of *The Standard* quoted in the *Nation*, July 28, 1881.

Russians remained to instruct the Bulgarians in military affairs. The Minister of War was a Russian. Both he and his Bulgarian subordinates were supposed to be subject to the orders of the Bulgarian government. Besides these there was the Russian agent whose duty it was to represent the Russian government at the Bulgarian capital. The other great Powers had their agents there too. Besides, there was in the early days of Alexander's career in his adopted country, Colonel Schepeleff, who was to be his special adviser, and two Russian captains (or perhaps just corporals) of industry, one a banker, and the other an engineer. By means of these men and others, Russia hoped to make Bulgaria her province. Something of the sort was expected by the Powers, hence the insistence upon a truncated Bulgaria. Bismarck said in 1888, that all opinions at the Congress of Berlin were that Russian influence would prevail in Bulgaria after she had renounced Eastern Roumelia. However, he was mistaken as to Andrassy's opinion, for the Austro-Hungarian statesman thought that circumstance not inevitable and wished to hasten the departure of the Russian troops, so that Bulgaria might stand on her own feet.³⁹ Each opinion had much to support it. On the one hand Russia was anxious to control Bulgaria, and Bulgaria expected help and counsel from her benefactor. She was, besides, grateful for the degree of independence she had attained. On the other hand, Bulgaria wished to be really independent. Prince Alexander, for his part, felt he needed the support of the Tsar. He made frequent trips to Russia. The Prince once said that if Russia deserted him, he would be compelled to turn to some other Power for support, Austria-Hungary, for example.⁴⁰ The desire of Russia to control, and the desire of Bulgaria to gain independence both of her benefactor, and of her former oppressor as well, almost necessarily led to trouble. It was sure to do so unless there was exercise of the utmost tact. The Prince got along very well with the Tsar, and the influence of his aunt, the Tsarina, was always in his interest. Unfortunately, she died in 1880, and Alexander II was killed in 1881. The foreign minister, Giers, was for moderate counsels, but the Pan-Slavist pressure was very great and worked for extreme

³⁹Corti, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-3

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 85

measures, pushing forward the cause of Russia in season and out of season. The great zeal of the Pan-Slavists often defeated itself by arousing unnecessary antagonism. That was the case in Bulgaria as we shall see.

Perhaps the most influential of the Pan-Slavists was Miliutin the Russian war minister. One of his officers said to the Prince one day: "Highness, you take everything too tragically. No Russian officer considers you as his commander-in-chief. We stand at an advanced post and fight only for Russian interests! Your disfavor is the best recommendation for me in Russia."⁴¹ Prince Alexander once, in the presence of the Tsar and Miliutin himself, had protested with warmth against the war minister's sending orders to the Russian Parenzoff, war minister for Bulgaria, over the head of the Prince, and also against his receiving secret reports from Parenzoff.⁴²

One of the Prince's many visits to the Tsar was made in March, 1880. The Prince, the Tsar, and other guests at that time had a narrow escape from death. The occasion was a dinner party at which occurred the consummation of one of the plots against the life of the Tsar. A bomb was exploded under the dining room of the Winter Palace, and the only thing that prevented the annihilation of the whole party was the delay of the train which was bringing the Prince's father to St. Petersburg. His arrival was awaited in another room. In his interview with the Tsar, whose nerves naturally were a good deal upset by his narrow escape and constant danger, the Prince had three requests to make. In fact, if they were not granted, he intended to refuse to return to Sofia. They were:

1. The revision of the Constitution
 2. Full powers in writing to dismiss most of his Russian officials and functionaries
 3. The immediate removal of Parenzoff, minister of war and Schepeleff, confidential adviser
- The Tsar, influenced by Miliutin and his party, was not willing to grant the first request, but advised the Prince to reconcile himself to Tsankoff and his friends.⁴³ Parenzoff and Schepeleff

⁴¹Corti, *op cit*, p. 89.

⁴²*Ibid*, p. 82.

⁴³Queillé, *op cit*, pp. 37-9, Corti, *op cit*, p. 81.

were recalled, and whether or not the power of dismissing Russians in his service was given at this time, Prince Alexander later exercised that power. He was in Russia again for the funeral of his aunt, the Tsarina, three months later. This time the Tsar was so upset by the death of his wife, and also, to a still greater degree, by his relations with Princess Catharine Dolgoruki, that no important matter seems to have been settled between the Tsar and the Prince. A month and a half after the death of the Tsarina, Alexander II was married to Princess Dolgoruki and "three-fourths of his thoughts were given to his thirty-two year old bride" ⁴⁴

With a few of the Russian representatives, Alexander had pleasant relations, but it was only too true that those men were out of favor in Russia. One of those friendly to the Prince was the first Russian agent, Davidoff. He fell into disgrace on account of Miliutin and "delations from Sofia," and was recalled at the same time as Parenzoff and Schepeleff. Instead of Davidoff, Couman was sent, but he "irritates rather than soothes" ⁴⁵. The new minister of war, Ehimoth, however, worked cordially with the Prince. He was Alexander's right hand man at the suspension of the constitution in May, 1881. One of the things causing controversy and hard feeling was the granting of concessions for the development of the country. When the Prince first arrived in Bulgaria, he found there Gunzbourg, who asked for the monopoly of credit, and Poliakoff who asked for a contract for railroad building. Couman, the new Russian agent, supported them, while the Prince was for Hagienoff, a Bulgarian ⁴⁶. In such matters were the seeds of future trouble.

It was expected that the other Powers, particularly England and Austria-Hungary, would watch with interest the "Russification" of Bulgaria. In the first months after the ratification of the treaty of Berlin, they were concerned lest a movement for the union of the two Bulgarias develop and get out of hand. The British government said it was using its influence against such a movement. Giers, Russian foreign minister, said that

⁴⁴Corti, *op cit*, p. 98

⁴⁵Queillé, *op cit*, p. 46

⁴⁶Drandar, *op cit*, pp. 59-60

he was doing likewise.⁴⁷ When in April, 1880, the Beaconsfield ministry, which was responsible in large measure for the Treaty of Berlin, was replaced by the Gladstone ministry, there was ardent hope that England would not object to the union movement. Twenty-seven congratulatory addresses were sent to Mr Gladstone.⁴⁸ Nevertheless Bulgaria's desires were not fulfilled, and it became necessary for her to restrain herself and "to prove to Mr Gladstone and to Europe that we merit their sympathies."⁴⁹ The opinion of Gladstone was obtained on the advisability of changing the Bulgarian constitution. Farley, an English subject in the Bulgarian service, had published a brochure picking the constitution to pieces. He asked Gladstone's opinion on the matter. Gladstone said that the fundamental law should not be changed, and this view was conveyed to the Bulgarian government.⁵⁰

During the twenty months to which we are now giving our attention, Bulgaria had rather unimportant conflicts with Austria and France. One of these led to the dismissal of Tsankoff from the headship of the ministry. A Bulgarian who happened to be Tsankoff's brother (or cousin) was on the international commission for the regulation of the navigation of the Danube. The Austrian member thought it was his prerogative to be at the head of this commission and the Bulgarian member, for what he thought were good reasons, voted against him. The cabinet member was held responsible for his brother's vote, he was compelled to exchange his dignity for that of an ordinary cabinet member, because "he dared to trifle with a grand Austrian lord."⁵¹ The trouble with France was over annulling the contract of the French finance-counsellor. "The breach of contract is explained only through blind opposition to all regulation." Later, M. Queilléc, another Frenchman, occupied that position for two and one-half years.⁵²

⁴⁷*State Papers*, 1879-80, p. 651.

⁴⁸*Times*, April 9, 1880.

⁴⁹*Times*, May 19, 1880.

⁵⁰Drandar, *op cit*, pp. 49-50.

⁵¹Drandar, *op cit*, pp. 64-67.

⁵²Jiracek, *op cit*, p. 327, note. Others tell the story somewhat differently. A Koch, *Fürst Alexander des Bulgaren Darmstadt*, pp. 64 ff.

The representatives of Austria-Hungary watched developments in Bulgaria a little jealously, although it was no doubt understood that Russia was to have her chance in Bulgaria, as Austria-Hungary had hers in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Haymerle, who succeeded Andrassy as foreign minister, said he was quite sympathetic with Bulgaria and its Prince, but not with the ruler of a little Russia. Khevenhuller, the Austria-Hungarian representative at Sofia, urged the Prince to rid his land from "this pest" and to exert his authority. He even wrote home that Alexander had already become a Russian puppet—a charge that was hardly deserved.⁵³ Austria, on her part, was accused of stirring up trouble in Bulgaria, but that charge too lacks proof.⁵⁴ As for Bismarck, he was not much interested in Bulgaria. The treaty of the Dual Alliance signed in 1879 meant that Germany stood behind Austria, although it was not Bismarck's purpose to drop Russia. Wilhelm I was still very friendly to Russia, and when Austrian and Russian interests did not definitely clash, Germany was willing to promote Russian interests. In June, 1881, the League of the Three Emperors was renewed.

With the factions among the Bulgarian politicians, and with the Pan-Slavists and Moderates among the Russians, there was chance enough for troubling the waters. Tsankoff, with the approbation of the Russians, was plotting against the Prince. The Prince was discouraged. "I consider my mission one that has turned out an unfortunate experiment. I have been away from affairs for four months, for I can no longer tolerate what is going on there. I know no more what is happening in the country and even if I knew it, I would be indebted to foreign representatives, and not to a responsible ministry serving me."⁵⁵ He told a correspondent of the *Standard* that he didn't know what to do. Consequently, he took the Emperors of Austria, Russia, and Germany into his confidence and they all said, "Do what you please, but do not leave Bulgaria."⁵⁶

By May, 1881, the Prince had decided what to do. He thought it time for determined action, so he issued a proclama-

⁵³Corti, *op cit*, p. 89

⁵⁴Corti, *op cit*, p. 108 Bath, *Bulgarian Affairs*, p. 102

⁵⁵Corti, *op cit*, p. 10

⁵⁶*Nation*, July 28, 1881

tion asking either for a change in the constitution of Tuna which should give him more power, or for the acceptance of abdication. Although he had talked over the situation with representatives of the European governments, he seems not have told them of any definite plans, and when he threatened to leave his post, they were taken by surprise.⁵⁷ The Russian government sent instructions to their agent, M. Hitovov, "to support the Prince of Bulgaria in the course which he had adopted. The support was given, but grudgingly. The German Government said they thought the Prince was justified in his act, and the Austrian agent was instructed "to congratulate His Highness and to express the hope of his Government that he would be successful."⁵⁸ In England the Liberal Government was in power and could not afford to approve unconditionally what seemed to be a breach of a constitution ratified by a people sworn to by its ruler. On May 12th, Sir George Campbell asked Sir Charles Dilke, Under Secretary of State in the House of Commons, whether the Prince "has violently subverted the Constitution duly established by the sanction of the Powers under the Treaty of Berlin . . . and whether Her Majesty's Consul-General at Sofia will hold any diplomatic intercourse with the usurper beyond warning him of the personal responsibility he incurs."⁵⁹ Dilke's reply was non-committal. The *Times* was unsympathetic with the Prince.⁶⁰ The British Government had to take into account both British public opinion and the views of other Powers. For the sake of the peace of Europe, and to avoid a "dangerous situation in the Balkans," Granville, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, could not abandon the Prince. Italy and France were inclined to follow the lead of England.

On May 23rd, the Prince announced definitely what terms were upon which he would remain as ruler:

1. He must be entrusted with extraordinary powers for seven years.
2. The National Assembly must be suspended.

⁵⁷Hans Klæber, *Fürst Alexander von Battenberg*, p. 106.

⁵⁸*Parlia Papers, Bulgaria, No. 1, 1881*, p. 2.

⁵⁹Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, V, 261, Col. 269-70.

⁶⁰*Times*, May 13, etc.

3 The Prince must be allowed within the seven years to convoke the Great National Assembly "with a view to the revision of the Constitution on the basis of institutions already created and of experience acquired"⁶¹

Two weeks later, the Prince issued two decrees, "one appointing special military tribunals with power to pronounce sentence of death, to take cognizance of offences committed by organs of the executive power with a view to incite disturbances, the other to take administrative steps against those accused of offences against the press"⁶² Conditions such as these, a British government, especially a Liberal one, could hardly commend. The official attitude was stated as follows to the French ambassador in London

I said that Her Majesty's Government were desirous of acting with the other Powers, and of showing every consideration for the difficult position in which the Prince was placed, that we had been reserved in the language we had held in Parliament in regard to what was passing in Bulgaria for fear any chance expression should be construed into an encouragement of the opponents of His Highness. At the same time it seemed to us, making every allowance for the defects of the Constitution, that it was a very strong measure for the Prince to present to the nation the alternative of his abdication, or of the establishment of a despotism for seven years and I did not see how we were unconditionally to support such an attitude⁶³

Granville also objected to the special military tribunals⁶⁴

The Russian Government naturally had no such scruples as the British over an unconstitutional course. Their official view was published in *The Journal of St Petersburg* of June 8th, 1881

The Imperial Government is therefore persuaded that if His Highness has deemed it necessary to declare the impossibility of performing the task under existing conditions, he has been led thereto by the profound conviction based upon a long and painful experience that he would neglect his duties if he continued to shield under his own responsibility a state of things which the Prince saw was dangerous for the future of Bulgaria. The Government is likewise persuaded that, if Prince Alexander appeals to the Bulgarian nation in order to obtain from it such powers as are indispensable to place him in a position to follow out his mission conscientiously, it is with the firm desire of labouring successfully for the prosperity of the people whose destinies have been entrusted to him⁶⁵

⁶¹*Parlia Papers, Bulgaria, No 1, 1881, p 17*

⁶²*Ibid*, p 31

⁶³*Ibid*, p 35

⁶⁴*Ibid*, p 43

⁶⁵*Ibid*, p 23.

A little later a telegram of the same purport was sent to M. Hitrovo, translated into Bulgarian, and published in one of their newspapers.⁶⁶ Lascelles, the British agent and consul-general, thought this message would have a great effect, and probably assure the success of the Prince in the coming elections.⁶⁷ The Russian Government tried to get the other Powers to consent to a declaration somewhat similar signed by representatives of all the Powers, but the three constitutional governments objected, and no common action was taken.

Meantime, the Liberals of Bulgaria led by M. Tsankoff were trying to get support for their opposition to the Prince and his proposals at the coming elections to the Great National Assembly. A telegram was sent to Mr Gladstone signed by Tsankoff and three others of his party. Gladstone's reply was perfectly correct, committing him to nothing,⁶⁸ though some thought he should not have replied at all. The Liberals also tried to get a word of encouragement from Ignatieff who was at that time Russian Minister of the Interior. He replied and referred them to Hitrovo or the Chancellor Prince Gortchakoff, neglecting to mention the Foreign Minister, M. de Giers, who was naturally displeased. He also said, that Russia "does not intend to interfere in her (Bulgaria's) internal matters."⁶⁹ Hitrovo, for his part, went on a campaigning tour with the Prince quite in accordance with the Russian official policy, though hardly a policy of non-interference. Tsankoff and his associates and followers resented such action. He published an open letter to Hitrovo in which he specified breaches of the constitution of which the Prince was guilty, and in which he objected to the Russian agents accompanying the Prince on his tour. In the letter occurred the sentence from an old Serbian proverb, "I do not desire your honey, but neither do I desire your sting."⁷⁰ Hitrovo thought Bulgaria ought to show her gratitude to Russia by doing what Russia wanted, and told the people so.⁷¹ Tsankoff complained in a telegram to the Czar that a knife was held

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 40

⁶⁷*Ibid.*

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 33

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 48, Corti, *op cit.*, p. 110

⁷⁰*Parlia Papers, Bulgaria, No. 1, 1881*, p. 30

at the throats of his people⁷² With pressure thus brought to bear upon the Bulgarian people, the election was held and the Prince won a decided victory Hardly any of the Liberal party were elected

The Assembly met at Sistova on July 13th Just before the session, the Prince held a reception of the Corps Diplomatique at which the German Ambassador, their Dean, addressed the Prince in the name of his colleagues wishing "that the union between your Highness and the country may be indissolubly maintained Your Highness," he said, "constitutes in the eyes of Europe, a guarantee of order and tranquillity, and the pledge of a happy development of Bulgaria in the path of progress" The British agent vetoed a proposal to express the hope that the Great National Assembly would ratify the choice of the nation on the ground that it was improper interference in Bulgaria's domestic affairs⁷³ The Assembly met in a session of less than an hour, and accepted the terms of the Prince The same day, at another meeting of the Diplomatic Corps, the German Ambassador congratulated the Prince on the outcome⁷⁴

⁷²*Ibid.*, pp 52-53

⁷³*Ibid.*, pp 62, 68

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, p. 73.

The Prince came to Bulgaria without any political experience and, although an intelligent man, he was not a political genius. The preceding chapter has shown how he learned by the method of trial and error. He had tried running the government under a liberal constitution. To him it had seemed to work very badly, so he had contrived to have it set aside, and to carry out his purpose of ruling without any. In order to avoid one set of evils, however, he met others which were even worse. The Prince succeeded in putting through his little coup d'état of May, 1881, largely with the help of two Russians. The Russian Minister of War for Bulgaria, General Ehrnroth, was an important agent at that juncture, and the Prince had been materially assisted by Hitrovo, who had replaced Couman, in the campaign before the election to the Grand National Assembly in June. General Ehrnroth soon left for Russia, and much to Alexander's disappointment was not sent back to Bulgaria. Hitrovo, the Russian agent, stayed, but did not remain long a supporter of the Prince. He is characterized as a man of the type of Fra Diavolo, "A breaker of eggs rather than a maker of omelettes."¹ A principal source of trouble, as we have seen, was over business concessions,² particularly over railroad building. The Russians wished to give the contract to a man named Polhakoff, and later to General Struve. The Bulgarians supported as rival, Hagienoff, already mentioned as favored by the Prince. The Russians, moreover, were bound to have their way in the location of the railroad first to be built. They insisted on the route from Sofia to Rustchuk, while the Prince was inclined to the building of Bulgaria's share of the international line which was provided for

¹Queillé, *Les commencements de l'indépendance bulgare et le Prince Alexander*, p. 106

²An anonymous writer, who was well acquainted with events in Bulgaria at this time, in his pamphlet, *Causes occultes de la question bulgare*, attributes most of Prince Alexander's troubles to a coterie of Russians whose purpose was the exploitation of Bulgaria. Hitrovo, Stuve, and other leading representatives of the Russian Government were alleged to be members.

in the treaty of Berlin Hitrovo allied himself with the Liberal party leader Tsankoff, at that time in determined opposition to the Prince. Hitrovo also ran up against the Prince in another matter. The official residence of the Russian representative was an entrepot for munitions, and from there aid was being sent to Russian couriers and others engaged in promoting revolts in Herzegovina. The Prince was opposed to the underhand methods used, and he apprised Austria of what was going on. Hitrovo's course was not approved by the Russian government, as they wanted to keep on good terms with Austria.³ According to his custom when in difficulties, the Prince appealed to the Tsar, now Alexander III. The Tsar supported the Prince and told his agent in Bulgaria to do the same. The support, however, was not very cordial. The Prince, moreover, was not on good terms with Kryloff, who had taken the place of Ehrnroth as Minister of War. Kryloff openly defied Alexander by giving a banquet in honor of Popoff, an officer whom the Prince had dismissed from his service. The Prince, naturally indignant at the honor shown one under his displeasure, forbade such affairs in the future.

In June, 1882, the Prince went to Russia to lay the situation before the Tsar in a personal interview. While there, he spoke in a frank, straightforward way, as was his manner, to the German ambassador about Bulgarian affairs and he also talked pretty freely about Hitrovo. He said that the Bulgarian people and a part of the Russian officers and men seemed well disposed toward him, but that another part was under the influence of Hitrovo, "who, of the bad ones, is the worst. His trouble making, his perfidy and shamelessness, as well as his unrest and insolence are beyond bounds."⁴

The Prince succeeded in having Hitrovo and Kryloff recalled. Back in Russia the former succeeded in doing the Prince considerable harm.⁵ To straighten things out in Bulgaria, the Russian government after much search, found two men, General Soboleff and General Kaulbars. The former was made head of the Prince's Council and the latter, Minister of War. These men, we are told, were selected with great care and had the confidence

³Queillé, *op cit*, p. 108, Corti, *Alexander von Battenburg, sein Kampf den Zaren und Bismarck*, p. 119.

⁴Corti, *op cit*, pp. 121-22.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 120, Queillé, *op cit*, p. 135.

of the Tsar. It was a condition of their appointment that they should stay for two years. They did not prove able, however, to meet the situation successfully. Prince Alexander's judgment of them was altogether unfavorable, but cannot be taken too seriously, for he came to dislike them intensely. He said, and his saying went the rounds, "Bulgaria and I are at the mercy of two dictators, one incapable, and the other a fool."⁶ The correspondent of the *London Times* says that Soboleff was not of the military type, but an intriguer, while Kaulbars was his opposite, not clever in politics. He allowed Soboleff to take the lead. Perhaps the Prince was justified in the characterization given, for Soboleff did not succeed in his intrigues. In trying to please everyone he offended all.⁷ The Russian representatives, generals as well as agents, preferred at first to work with the Conservatives, and a cabinet was chosen with Grecoff, Stoiloff and Nitchovitch as leading members under the generals, but Russians and Bulgarians could not work together. It became apparent that the generals considered Bulgaria merely as a Russian military outpost and political dependency.⁸ In the election of 1882 to the third ordinary assembly, men of some prominence were chosen who were inclined to act independently, and they were not willing to make the appropriations which the generals

⁶Queillé, *op cit*, p. 128

⁷*Times*, Nov. 14, 1883. Koch says Kaulbars was vain and conceited even to rudeness and a German hater. On one occasion Soboleff expresses the Prince's judgment on Kaulbars: "Il est fou, ce Kaulbars." Koch says of Soboleff that he was "reserved, stealthy at bottom, so insignificant that the Prince could hardly carry on ordinary conversation with him. He hates his ministerial colleagues who speak Russian indifferently, and he understands no other language." Koch, *Fürst Alexander des Bulgariens Darmstadt*, pp. 111, 138.

⁸Perhaps Soboleff's denial of this is of no special significance. He wrote a little book in defense of his course in Bulgaria (*Der erste Fürst von Bulgarien*). In it, he says: "The Russians did not want to make Bulgaria a Russian province, but wanted its complete independence and were training its military forces to that end. Russia did want to be consulted and to give her authorization," pp. 67-68. One might remark that giving authorization implies the possibility of refusing to give it, and that that means dictation, also that Soboleff's way of expressing himself shows a state of mind which recognizes that Bulgaria has a right to independence, but that Russia is reluctant to permit its exercise. At all events, this interpretation of the remark quoted represents very well the course he and most of the other Russian agents followed.

demanded.⁹ Then the railroad question came up. Again, there was rivalry over candidates for the ministry of public works, and a difference of opinion as to which railroad should be built first, the line to the Danube, or the international line.¹⁰ An incident which had much to do with the alienation of the generals from their colleagues was the affair of Bishop Meletius. He had been deprived of his office by the Holy Synod, and had to be sent into retirement. By the official document, providing for his removal, he was to be taken to Viatza. Stoiloff, for what he considered good reasons, substituted Rilo for Vratza.¹¹ Soboleff was not consulted as to the change, and as president of the council he felt that he should have been. In consequence of these differences the conservatives in the cabinet all resigned. Their resignations left the generals in full control. After a few months of life in such an atmosphere as this occasioned, the Prince preferred to leave Sofia, anticipating a journey to Moscow in May, 1883, when the coronation ceremonies for Alexander III and his wife were to be held. When at Athens, he sent a telegram to his ministry, directing them to put through the plans for the international railroad line. That seemed to the Prince the wisest choice for Bulgaria and so it seems to us, as impartial observers. We are told that the Prince was led to believe that Russia did not care much one way or the other about the railroads. Perhaps she did not, except that she realized that a nation loses prestige when it does not have its way in a matter.¹² Nevertheless, the Prince's decision made the breach between him and the generals wider than ever. It also gave an opportunity to his enemies in Russia to represent him as hostile to his benefactor Russia, and friendly to her Balkan rival, Austria.¹³ The Prince was reluctant to break with the Russian representatives in Bulgaria, but he had to choose between them and his people. Moreover he always hoped, that when the truth was known at St. Petersburg, the Tsar would follow his usual course and sup-

⁹Staneff, *Geschichte der Bulgarien*, p. 111.

¹⁰Queillé, *op cit*, p. 121, Drandar, *cinq ans de règne*, p. 131.

¹¹Drandar, pp. 145-46. See also, *Causes occultes de la question bulgare*, pp. 79-80.

¹²*Causes occultes*, etc., p. 53.

¹³Corti, *op cit*, p. 131.

port his cousin. The conduct of the Russian generals toward him was certainly inconsiderate. They not only deprived him of his legitimate place as ruler of his adopted country, but they treated him with personal disrespect. His correspondence was watched (*ubersacht*) and he was a virtual prisoner in his palace. On one occasion, General Kaulbars took the liberty of inviting a guest to the Prince's table without consulting him. When the Marshal of the palace noticed it, Kaulbars winked at him and said it was a trick he was playing.¹⁴ Decrees were issued of which Alexander did not approve, and officials were arbitrarily removed. A deputation from Tirnovo, which was not quite satisfied with the way things were going, was sent back with the admonition. "Russia has shed her blood for you, Bulgaria should recognize that and it will. We shall compel it."¹⁵

With the foreign agents of other governments, the generals did not have much to do. They forgot that they were representatives of Bulgaria and acted as Russians. In a conversation with them at one time, the Austrian agent accused them of disloyalty, though it went hard, he said, to use so strong a word. "Yes, quite too strong," Kaulbars said, and the Austrian agent answered, "It does go hard indeed, the word nevertheless must be regarded as correct."¹⁶

Before the Prince went to the coronation, he sent Golovine to Moscow to try to win the good-will and help of Katkoff, newspaper magnate. Katkoff thought that the generals were not good ministers for Bulgaria, and that the Prince ought to take matters into his own hands and direct Bulgaria in the right way. The only right way though, he said, was the way of Russia.¹⁷

In May the Prince went to Moscow, hoping to get the backing of the Tsar. Soon after he arrived there news came to him of a delegation from Sofia, sent by the mayor who had just been appointed by Kaulbars. This delegation had come to Moscow to ask "in the name of the Bulgarian people" that Waldemar of Denmark replace Alexander as Prince of Bulgaria. One day

¹⁴Corti, *op cit*, p. 128. Queillé, *op cit*, p. 134.

¹⁵*Ibid*, p. 130.

¹⁶*Ibid*, p. 134, Drandar, *op cit*, pp. 181-82, Corti, *op cit*, p. 130.

¹⁷Corti, *op cit*, p. 131.

during the ceremonies the Prince met this mayor on the street and asked him what he was doing there. He said that he was at the head of a delegation and that he was going to be received by the Tsar the next day. The Prince went to Giers, who had arranged the reception, and remonstrated. Giers insisted that the delegation be received. To this demand Alexander replied that the moment that band of revolutionaries was received, he would leave Moscow. "Why revolutionaries?" asked Giers,

"Because," Alexander answered, "these people claim, without having a mandate and against my orders to represent the Bulgarian people here whose only legal representative I am."

"You have no right now to give orders in Bulgaria," answered Giers, "Kaulbais is regent."

Through the good offices of the German ambassador, the matter was compromised. The Tsar said that he regretted what had happened, and that he had not known the deputation was there against the will of the Prince. He thought, however, that it would make a bad impression in Bulgaria, if he did not receive the delegation. The Prince therefore reconciled himself to its reception on condition that the entire Bulgarian colony in Moscow be invited. There were also other Bulgarians in Moscow sent from Bulgaria, members of the Chamber. These were friends of the Prince, who had complaints to make against the generals. Soboleff, however, was there when they met the Tsar, and they did not venture to present their grievances.¹⁸

The Prince had his interview with the Tsar and convinced him that the best thing to do was to send General Ehrnroth again to Bulgaria as adviser to the Prince to try again a Conservative ministry, and to ask the generals to be more moderate in their policy. Great was the surprise of the Prince who had been much pleased with the Tsar's response to his wishes, to read in a newspaper when on his way back to Sofia that General Ehrnroth was not to go to Bulgaria. A letter from the Tsar a little later confirmed the news. Instead, a Russian diplomat, Jonin, was to be sent. The Prince wrote to the Crown Prince of Germany. "The Kaiser had promised me a man who would help me against the generals and sent me, instead of him, one of

¹⁸Corti, *op cit*, p. 131, Queillé, *op cit*, p. 135

the most infamous of Russian diplomats to help the generals against me"¹⁰ After Prince Alexander had left Moscow, the Pan Slavist party had got hold of the Tsar and had persuaded him that the Prince was not devoted to the interests of Russia. The Prince himself had convinced Katkoff, newspaper magnate, that such was the case, by frankly telling him that he was in favor of the international railroad line, which, passing from Serbia through Bulgaria, was the one Austria-Hungary desired.²⁰

From this time the breach with Russia became wide and deep. During the next few months, a good deal of feeling was exhibited on both sides. The Prince was thought by Russia to be ungrateful, and the Russian representatives were arrogant and sometimes insulting. "Russia hates me," the Prince wrote to Crown Prince Frederick William, "because she fears me, but I enjoy their hate, for I answer it with my whole soul although to be sure circumstances compel me to suppress my feelings for some years."²¹ He expressed himself to M. Queillé at about the same time, showing much the same state of mind. "Ah, Russia, whither are you leading me? Is it not true that one comes to understand Nihilism, to account for the infiltration of that poison even among classes high up in society, when a sovereign, given up to all sorts of intrigue, is subject to all the caprices of a lot of petty ambitions such as disgrace honest men, and whose victims have no recourse to any appeal nor any chance of justice."²²

M. Jonin, whom the Tsar sent as Russian agent, had been Russian representative in Montenegro for some years. In Bulgaria as he himself announced, he was to play the part of the "dove from the ark." The *Times* correspondent speaks of him as "one of the most dangerous firebrands in the Russian diplo-

¹⁰Corti, *op cit*, pp 139-40

²⁰*Ibid*, p 135

²¹*Ibid*, pp 146-47

²²Queillé, *op cit*, p 183. Alexander II was fond of Prince Alexander, but his son Alexander III, either through jealousy or for some other reason, disliked him intensely. Schouvaloff at one time said to the Tsar "Then your Imperial Majesty cannot bear Battenberg?" The Tsar replied "I should think not, the scoundrel, the villain." Cf Bismarck's remark Busch, Bismarck, English edition, Vol III, p 181. American ed, II, 418. Schouvaloff heard that when boys together, Battenberg nicknamed Alexander "Mops".

matic service"²³ Alexander had too much the character of a member of the Prussian Body Guard to submit to orders from those who had no authority over him, and Jonin's mission at once assumed an imperious character, for he brought with him an ultimatum from the Tsar in which it was demanded that the Prince publish a manifesto declaring his renunciation of governing powers, and that Generals Soboleff and Kaulbars be entrusted with the administration until a Grand Assembly should be convoked for adopting a new constitution²⁴ The Prince, unwilling to yield, tried to get support from the Powers. They had made the Treaty of Berlin, and the purpose of that was to prevent Russian influence from dominating the Balkans. Now Russia was undertaking to do that very thing The Prince felt confident that they would act, but the Powers remained silent²⁵ Bismarck's policy was to do nothing to offend Russia; the British government sympathized with the Prince, but did not feel it could do anything to help him, while Austria, although she was glad enough to see the breach between Russia and Bulgaria, was bound to Russia no less than Germany by the Three Emperors' League of 1881 So, failing here, Alexander turned to Tsankoff who, banished for a year and a half, was now back in Sofia. Tsankoff demanded the unconditional restoration of the Tirnovo constitution, so no alliance was possible Jonin for his part tried to get the help of the army, which was commanded largely by Russian officers, but Alexander, hearing what was up, went himself to the camp with his staff He was received with cheers from the Bulgarian soldiers, and Jonin realized that nothing was possible from that quarter²⁶ Jonin and the generals also tried to get support from the Liberal party and to some

²³Queillé, *op cit*, p 154, *Times*, Nov 14, 1883 In an interview with Alexander soon after his arrival, Jonin shows himself quite other than dove-like He was insolent to the Prince who finally told Jonin that he would call servants to put him out if the Tsar had not sent him Jonin told the Prince that the Tsar had instructed him to use such language The Prince was so wrought up by Jonin's manner and the unfriendliness of the Tsar that he told Koch to go to his parents and tell them that he must give up "I cannot fight against the Tsar of Russia" Koch, *op cit*, p 149

²⁴*Times*, Sept 10, 1883, Drandar, *op cit*, p 170

²⁵Corti, *op cit*, p 142

²⁶*Ibid*, p 143

extent succeeded, as Karaveloff seems for a time to have been working in their interests, but Tsankoff was alienated by General Soboleff when the latter revealed that the purpose of the Russian government was to establish a ten-year protectorate over Bulgaria. Tsankoff, upon finding this out, went to the Prince and told him that he would not insist upon the Tirnovo constitution unconditionally, but would accept the modifications the Prince asked for.²⁷ So the Prince, on the 11th of September, issued a manifesto in which he promised to appoint a commission "composed of persons chosen by us among the most distinguished and respectable of the principality without distinction of political convictions for the purpose of making a new constitution or revising the old."²⁸ The commission was appointed, but its report was not acted upon because Alexander soon came to think it best to restore the constitution of Tirnovo without conditions.²⁹ Thus the Prince determined to rely upon his own adopted people for support and confirmed the breach with the Russian representatives.

Meanwhile the Prince had been trying to get rid of his Russian tormentors. They were nominally his ministers subject to his orders. So, assuming this to be the actual relation, he called them in and demanded their resignation and departure from the country. The generals said they were under the Tsar's orders and not his and refused to go. However, when the National Assembly met, and the commission for changing the constitution was appointed, they went away to Russia. Another Russian, General Rhodiger, was appointed who served for a month, then was asked to resign. He, too, said that he took orders from the Tsar, but, when Alexander threatened to have him conducted to the frontier if he was still in Sofia at noon of the next day, he decided to leave. Another Russian general, Kotelnikoff, was appointed, and Alexander said to him: "Understand me. I have appointed you, as the senior officer for the portfolio of war. If you do not obey, you will leave in twenty-four hours. When you are gone, I will call successively all the officers according to seniority, and I will declare to them, and I intend to act as I

²⁷Corti, *op cit*, p. 143.

²⁸Drandar, *op cit*, p. 171.

²⁹*Times*, Sept. 17, 1883.

speaking. 'Accept or leave' "80 The Prince's exasperation went so far at this time that he gave orders that all the Russian officers in Bulgaria should go home and that all Bulgarian officers, serving in Russian regiments or at military schools in Russia, should come home to Bulgaria.⁸¹ The reason for this action by the Prince seems to have been the recall from Bulgaria of two Russian officers who were friendly to him. One of them was Polzikoff, of whom Alexander said "Polzikoff was more than aide de camp, he was almost a brother."⁸²

Giers, the Russian foreign minister, was not at all pleased with the relations between Russia and Bulgaria. While the Prince was sending appeals to the Tsar to which the Tsar would not reply, Giers was expressing his anxiety over the situation, as well as indignation against the Prince. "I am indeed a mild sort of a man," he said, "but it makes the blood go to my head to have to bother myself with this unlucky Bulgarian business. Yesterday I spoke to the Tsar about it and declared that, in all the forty-five years in which I have served the country, never have I been mixed up in a thing which has disgusted me to such a degree. Yes disgusted (angekelt), that is the word, for I know what the real interests are which come into play."⁸³

The Prince was held to blame for the defection of Bulgaria and it was hoped that some way might be found for his elimination. It was desired that this might be brought about by regular

⁸⁰Queuillé, *op cit*, p. 185

⁸¹Mr Minchin, newspaper correspondent for the *Morning Advertiser* and Consul General to Serbia, tells a story of an attempt to kidnap the Prince by two Russian generals—an attempt, however, which failed, owing to the refusal of the officer on guard to admit the generals into the Prince's apartment. Neither M. Queuillé, who kept a journal of interesting happenings and was in close association with the Prince, nor M. Corti who had access to his correspondence, nor M. Koch, resident clergyman of the Prince, nor anyone else so far as I can find except those who take the story from Minchin, mentions the incident and there are some inconsistencies in respect to time and persons in Mr Minchin's story, which was not written until two or three years after the alleged event. The event is not at all improbable, however, for some of the Russian representatives felt like disposing of the Prince in any way that seemed practicable. Minchin, *Growth of Freedom*, also quoted in *Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1886, p. 495.

⁸²Queuillé, *op cit*, pp. 179, 181-82

⁸³Corti, *op cit*, pp. 147-48.

means Jonin hoped to build exclusively from the ranks of the people a party opposed to the Prince ³⁴ Tsankoff was to be his agent, but we have seen how the alliance with that politician was defeated by the too great frankness of Soboleff. For the most part, moreover, the Russians seemed to have alienated the Bulgarian people as well as the Prince by the over-bearing ways of their generals and agents. A solution proposed by the *Moscow Gazette*, Katkoff's paper, was that a republic be established in Bulgaria "responsible to Russia and Europe in preference to an improvised throne without foundations or traditions, with a foreign prince who cannot possibly be with the people in their wants and aspirations, and who seems in a dictatorial manner to break with their great northern benefactors." He thought that it was a fundamental mistake not to have begun with a republic or a government like that of Eastern Roumelia ³⁵

In order not to lose complete control of the Bulgarian army, as there seemed to be danger of doing in the autumn of 1883, when the Prince ordered home all the Russian officers in Bulgaria, the Russian government thought best to make some concessions. This changed attitude was revealed by the St. Petersburg paper, the *Novoe Vremia*, which had been the most violent in its attacks on the Prince. The article said "It is time and more than time to place the question of our relations with Bulgaria upon a reasonable footing. Of what use is it to let ourselves be deceived and wilfully close our eyes? Such adventurers

³⁴Leonoff, *Secret Documents*. As in other publications of secret documents, there is some doubt as to their genuineness, but Rose and other historians of repute regard them as authentic. At any rate, there is nothing in them which does not fit in with other things we know of Russian methods at this and at other times. Only one must be on his guard against attributing to Russia a diplomacy to which no other European Power would stoop. During this period of extremely strained relations with Russia, the Prince sent Balabanoff to the Tsar with a letter to explain the situation in Bulgaria in order to avoid the breach that seemed to be impending. In the letter the Prince had apologized for his messenger, who was not used to court manners, and was perhaps a little uncouth, and Giers had read the letter to the messenger. The Russian court took great pains to receive Balabanoff in a distinguished manner. A high functionary was sent to conduct him to the palace in a Court carriage. The interview with the Tsar lasted for half an hour, and he showed great interest in Bulgaria. Queillé, *op cit*, p. 252, *Times*, Nov. 1, 1883.

³⁵*Times*, Nov. 12, 1883.

as Soboleff, Kaulbars, and Co should not be sent, but those who sympathize sincerely with the cause they are working for. It is not necessary to point out that our future representative at Sofia ought to be, as far as possible, in the background and not forget that every inquisition into the affairs of the country can only do injury to the end which we have in view."²⁸

It was felt above all that it would not do to lose control of the Bulgarian army, which must serve as a vanguard to the Russian army if another war with Turkey should come. Colonel Kaulbars, brother of the general, was sent down for the purpose of making an agreement in regard to the control of the army. He arrived the tenth of November, and the following understanding was arranged:

The Bulgarian Minister of War to be appointed by Prince Alexander with the consent of the Czar, the Prince alone having the right of revoking this appointment. The Minister of War not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Principality, and to be directly responsible to the Prince and the National Assembly for his acts, and for the estimates of his Ministry. The Russian officers who come to serve in the Bulgarian army for three years with the Czar's consent to owe obedience to the Prince and the constitution, and the laws of Bulgaria.²⁹

In other respects, the relations between Russia and Bulgaria did not change much during the two years after the restoration of the constitution of Tirnovo. Jonin was replaced by Cojander who was perhaps less openly hostile, but was constantly trying to undermine the influence of the Prince.³⁰ When Alexander proposed an interview with the Tsar, the Tsar refused to receive him. Scandals regarding his conduct in Sofia were published in the St. Petersburg papers.³¹ On one occasion the Tsarina was at Darmstadt at the same time as the Prince, but would not receive him and greeted him coldly when she met him in company.

²⁸Queillé, *op cit*, p. 305

²⁹*Times*, Nov. 16, 1883

³⁰Cojander is spoken of as little attractive externally. "He was decidedly the weakest, the most unimportant, the most deceitful, the most wanting in tact of all the Russian diplomatists who have been in Sofia. Not one of them, not even Soboleff sent such lying reports to his Government." Koch, *op cit*, p. 196. He was instructed to work for the removal of Alexander. "Of haughty character, creating incidents so as to find occasion to give free play to an insolence, designed and premeditated." *Causes occultes*, p. 99.

³¹Corti, *ob cit.* n. 167

At the wedding-feast of the Grand Duke Sergius the whole Battenberg family was invited except the Prince.⁴⁰ Those Russian officers who were friendly to the Prince were looked upon as "bad Russians." Loghinoff, a Russian officer in Bulgaria with two beautiful daughters and two other children, lost his place, as Polzikoff and others had done earlier, for that reason.⁴¹ Once at an evening gathering in Sofia, after the supper, Cojander and the Russian officers offended against all etiquette by smoking. The master of the house remonstrated, but to no effect until he turned out the lights. In the latter part of 1883, the Tsar had to try eight times to get a general to go to Bulgaria and serve as minister of war. Finally, Prince Cantacuzene was sent.

In the spring of 1884 Prince Alexander had the opportunity of meeting Queen Victoria, and of visiting Berlin and Vienna. Queen Victoria, as always, showed herself cordial. So did Francis Joseph. The Kaiser and Bismarck, however, disappointed the Prince. It was nearly time to renew the agreement of the three emperors made in 1881, and it was a cardinal point of their diplomacy to renew and make firm that alliance. This policy of theirs affected Prince Alexander, not only as ruler of Bulgaria, but also in his private capacity as a marriageable young man. On previous visits in Berlin he had met Princess Victoria, daughter of Crown Prince Frederick William, and the two young people had become fond of each other. The possibility of their marriage was widely discussed in Berlin at this time. The Prince had conversations with both the Kaiser and Bismarck on important subjects among which were this marriage and Prince Alexander's relations to Russia. However, nothing was said directly by the Kaiser at this time concerning the marriage project. Only he questioned the Prince a little about his borrowing money from the Jews and stories concerning his private life. Borrowing money from the Jews he admitted, but said he would not have had to borrow of them, if he had become the pensioner of Russia. The Kaiser said he thought the latter preferable, and advised him to reconcile himself to Russia. Wilhelm acknowledged that Russia's treatment of him had not

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 169

⁴¹Queillé, *op cit.*, pp. 342-43

always been praiseworthy, and especially blamed the conduct of Jonin, but he blamed the Prince for antagonizing Russia. The present situation between him and Russia was due, the Prince said, to his observance of the conditions under which he was made the ruler of Bulgaria by Europe, namely, adherence to the treaty of Berlin, and the ruling of Bulgaria for the Bulgarians. As to his private life, the Prince denied the charges made against him, and said the palace in which he lived was like a glass house, and that he could not live scandalously if he wanted to without raising a great ado. At the end of the interview, the Kaiser spoke kindly and assured the Prince that he did not believe the scandals, and that so long as he was Kaiser, the Prince would remain ruler of Bulgaria.⁴²

In the conversation with Bismarck two days later, the feelings of the Prince were not spared. The Chancellor was brutally frank. He let the Prince know the principle upon which he based his policy. "Germany has no interest in Bulgaria, our interest is Peace with Russia." Consequently, the marriage of the Prince with the grand-daughter of the Kaiser was out of the question. If he wanted to marry a princess, Princess Beatrice of England, or Princess Helen of Mecklenburg would be suitable but "I would advise you," he said, "to marry an orthodox millionaire who would establish your position in Bulgaria, for to govern in the Orient, bribery rules, and money is needed for that. In your place, I would perhaps remain a German, for I apprehend that to an honorable, straight-forward character, such as yours, it must go against the grain to associate with Orientals. But, if you wish to remain in Bulgaria, then give yourself up to Russia unconditionally, take, if necessary, even an anti-German attitude! Indeed, I consider the existence of Bulgaria problematical. It has once been an object to bargain with and sooner or later, at all events some time, you will sit in the chimney corner calling to memory your stormy youth. In Petersburg they know our view. So I advise you to seize any opportunity to put yourself in good relations with Russia. Your Highness possesses the fullest sympathy of German moderate circles. I myself, regard you highly but I am the Chancellor of 45 million Germans whose

⁴²Corti, *op cit*, pp. 162-65, from reports to the Austrian Foreign Office and reports of Prince Alexander in the Hartman Archives.

interests I cannot sacrifice for any single German " As for the marriage with Princess Victoria, that would be all right if he became again a German Prince

When Bismarck was through with his talk, the Prince had a few words to say in defence of himself The means Russia was using against him were, he thought, such as were not used among respectable people. He was accused of many offenses in the Petersburg papers, and he was guiltless of them all. Concerning what relates to my private life, you can very easily find out the truth through your German representative I live as under a lamp, and anyone can come to me day or night and every Bulgarian knows how temperately and carefully I live, and gratefully acknowledges it Bismarck said he knew the Prince spoke the truth, and the interview closed

The Prince was received cordially in the family of the Crown Prince, and if they could have had their way, perhaps the marriage with Victoria might have taken place Although officially, Frederick William was opposed—at least Bismarck had said so to Prince Alexander,—the Crown Prince had said to the latter, that if he were Kaiser, he would give Alexander his daughter ⁴³

A reply which Bismarck sent to a letter from Prince Henry of Reuss, German ambassador at Vienna, shows clearly the same attitude which he had shown in his conversation with the Prince in Berlin Prince Henry in his letter to Bismarck had reported some correspondence with Baron Biegeleben, Austrian Consul General of Sofia The latter was friendly to Prince Alexander, and resented his unfair treatment by Russia Bismarck showed in his reply how mistaken such an attitude was

That the Prince is in a 'depressed state of mind' ⁴⁴ I consider necessary for the peace of the three Powers and I wish him to remain so To me, he appears in the light of an aspirant, and disturber of the peace whose marriage project favored by Queen Victoria is a political menace to us as long as he is Prince of Bulgaria

If the Prince is compelled to leave Bulgaria, I cannot see any harm to the good understanding of the courts of the three Emperors The question whether anything is 'bitter' for the Prince, or whether Russia shows too much malice, lies outside the region of politics and is an affair of

⁴³Corti, *op. cit.*, pp. 465-68, who quotes from manuscript in the Prince's handwriting.

⁴⁴The single quotation marks indicate quotations from the letter to which Bismarck is replying.

personal sympathy We have no interest as to whether his enemies in Bulgaria put a bridle on him or not Originally, Prince Alexander took the Bulgarian principality as a Russian governor, and in no other capacity, if he took it with other views, he has thrown off the mask too soon and has let the ground crumble away under him with his restless fumbings after Turkish, Greek, Russian, Bulgarian liberal and English dynastic support I do not at all understand why Count Kalnoky has any reluctance to let the Prince fall and cannot recognize the interest which Austria has in the maintenance of the status quo in Bulgaria, for the Austrian claims to-day do not extend beyond the line which we had under consideration when Austria made the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia dependent upon Russian decision and recognized that Bulgaria lay in Russia's sphere of operations ⁴⁵

The point of view shown by Bismarck in this letter was more formally indicated by the agreement drawn up in 1881, and adopted by the three imperial governments. In the protocol of that treaty were the provisions affecting the Balkan peninsula. Austria-Hungary was permitted to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina when she should judge the moment opportune. The occupation of Eastern Roumelia by Turkish troops was to be discouraged as a menace to the general peace, although the Treaty of Berlin gave Turkey the right to build fortifications along East Roumelian frontiers, and occupy them with troops. The union of Eastern Roumelia and Bulgaria was not to be opposed ⁴⁶. This treaty was renewed in 1884, and later in the year the three emperors had a friendly meeting at Skiernewice. No definite results of this meeting were put down in black and white, "nur Courtoisie u(nd) Friedensliebe" Bismarck said ⁴⁷. It was tacitly assumed during this time and at this interview, at least by Bismarck, that while Austria had interests in the western part of the peninsula, Russia's interests in the eastern part would be respected ⁴⁸. The limits were not very strictly drawn. Serbia might come under the influence of either. The fact was that at this time Serbia was bound by treaty very closely to Austria-Hungary, and Roumania, too, was bound to the same Power by a treaty made in 1883. Austria-Hungary and Russia were never thoroughly won over to Bismarck's solution of the Balkan problem, the predominance of Russian interests in the East, and of Austro-Hungarian in the West. Neither Austria-Hungary or

⁴⁵*Die Grosse Politik*, III, 344-46

⁴⁶*Ibid*, pp 178-79

⁴⁷*Ibid*, p 369, note

⁴⁸*Ibid*, p 371 and *passim*

Germany, as we have seen, was disposed to dispute Russia's preeminent interest in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia.

So Bulgaria and Prince Alexander were the victims of a thoroughly selfish policy. Those responsible were all frank about it. They did not defend it. It was taken for granted. Neither justice nor mercy for other peoples was in the program. The virtues generally known as Christian virtues are not commonly practised in international affairs.

CHAPTER VIII *

EASTERN ROUMELIA FROM 1879 TO 1885

While Prince Alexander was troubled and perplexed over the government of his principality and the intrigues of Russian agents and generals, Eastern Roumelia was traveling a similar path, but her experiences were on a somewhat reduced scale. She had similar political parties, although political rivalries were not so intense; she was a victim of Russian intrigue, but the Russian agents were a trifle more considerate, or, at any rate, less active.

- The terms upon which Eastern Roumelia was to begin her career, as determined by the Treaty of Berlin, have already been given. By its provisions, it will be remembered, Turkey was to have a considerable degree of control. She was to appoint the governor who, however, was to be a Christian and whose appointment might be vetoed by the Powers. The Porte might also veto laws passed by the Eastern Roumelian Assembly. It had the right to send troops to the Balkans which separated this province from Bulgaria, and it might, upon occasion, send troops within their borders. The people of Bulgaria had made their own constitution, but those of Eastern Roumelia, though no doubt fully as intelligent as their brothers north of the Balkans, were not allowed to make theirs. That was to be made for them by a European commission which was to "determine within three months the powers and functions of the Governor General, as well as the administrative, judicial, and financial system of the provinces."¹ While the European Commission was doing its work, the Russians were to be in control and were to remain until May 3rd, 1879, when, by the terms of the Treaty of Berlin, they were compelled to leave.

After the defeat of Turkey by the Russians, the San Stefano Bulgaria was administered by them. At first, Prince Tcherkaski was at the head of the administration, and later, upon his death, Prince Dondoukoff-Karsakoff. When Eastern Roumelia was cut off from Bulgaria, Prince Dondoukoff went to Sofia and

¹Pp. 111, 112, *supra*

General Stolypin became chief administrator. Some control over the Russian governor was supposed to be exercised by the European Commission through the financial powers and duties given it by the Treaty of Berlin. The Commission was appointed, and met for the first time on September 30, 1878. Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, the British representative, says that the Commissioners were men of great mark.²

The European Commissioners, the Russian governor, and all concerned, found problems and difficulties enough to absorb their time and attention. They found the Turks expecting the restoration of Eastern Roumelia "to the condition of a Turkish vilayet."³ That the Sultan's political and military authority over the territory included in the new province should remain intact were the instructions which Salisbury gave Wolff.⁴ On the other hand the Bulgarians of Eastern Roumelia were extremely restless and anxious for fear that would take place. The Russians were reluctant to give up their control in any measure to the European Commission. The dissatisfaction of the people was manifested by numerous petitions protesting against the Treaty of Berlin and against the danger which seemed to them imminent of the restoration of Turkish misrule. The state of mind prevailing in some quarters is indicated by a protest sent to Mr. Calvert, the British Acting Vice-Consul in Philippopolis:

We are astonished at the fearful news that this country, inhabited by pure Bulgarians, is to be separated from the other Bulgaria. And why were there so many sympathies from the English people, when we see to-day that the English Government itself desires to subject us again to the unbearable Turkish yoke, the Tyranny of which we had to suffer for five centuries, with unspeakable hardships, and from which God delivers us to-day through his anointed, the true Czar of the world, His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor Alexander II.

²H. D. Wolff, *Rambling Recollections*, II, 197. They were Asım Pasha and Abro Pasha for Turkey, von Braunschweig for Germany, M. Kallay for Austria-Hungary, Baron de Ring and M. de Coutouly for France, H. D. Wolff and Lord Donoughmore for Great Britain, M. Vernoni for Italy, Col. Schepelleff and M. Tzertelleff for Russia and M. Izvolsky, secretary to the latter, just entering upon his diplomatic career.

³*Ibid.*, p. 201.

⁴*Parlia Papers, Turkey, No. 9, 1878-79*, p. 15.

A succeeding paragraph shows a good deal of feeling as well as crudities of style

We loudly protest against this unrighteous decision of the Berlin Congress, and we declare that we cannot accept conditions which are calculated to annihilate us. We cannot submit to the infernal authority which for five centuries was sucking our blood, crushing our bones, and burning our bodies. We declare that the Bulgarian people cannot be blotted out from the face of the earth by such fictitious designations. No, the Bulgarians will try to defend their country from the Turkish occupation to the last drop of their blood. Streams of Bulgarian blood will run again through the newly devastated plains of our unhappy fatherland.⁵

Some of the protests were more restrained and in large measure justified. Besides their objection to the separation of the two Bulgarias, it was not strange that they should object to the Turkish garrisons which seemed to them not only a threat, but a means of separating them definitely from their brothers of the North. That the Governor-General and other officials should be appointed by the Sultan, seemed to assure the repetition of their former miseries and hardships.⁶ Mr Layard, British ambassador at Constantinople at this time, was inclined to be a little short with the petitioners. "I interrupted M Grecoff," he writes to the Marquis of Salisbury, "and informed him that I declined to listen to any representation against the Treaty and that I must request him to abstain from saying anything more upon the subject."⁷ Sir Drummond Wolff was more considerate. He tried to calm their apprehensions and told them that the European governments were anxious to secure the welfare of the people, that the old state of things was not to be restored, but a new one set up, that they were to be given power to establish a sound government.⁸

Another circumstance that caused the members of the European commission some anxiety was the organization of gymnastic societies in Eastern Roumelia, the members of which actually met for military drill and were regarded as a menace to the peace of the country.⁹ The Russian generals in Eastern Roumelia

⁵*Parha Papers, Turkey, No 53, 1878, pp 70-71*

⁶*Parha Papers, Turkey, No 9, 1879, pp 718, 918, etc*

⁷*Parha Papers, Turkey, No 54, 1878, p 164*

⁸*Parha Papers, Turkey, No 9, 1878, p 117*

⁹Wolff, *op cit*, II, 225-26

encouraged them. In April, 1879, reviews were held by Generals Skobeleff and Stolypin at Slivno, Tatar-Bazardjik, and Philippopolis.¹⁰ The former, at least, was much pleased with results obtained in so short a time. Against these activities, and against the distribution of arms by Russia in Eastern Roumelia the British representatives protested, and the Russian Government was induced to command the dissolution of the gymnastic societies.¹¹ The experience of Russian agents in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia sometimes showed the difficulty a Russian autocrat encountered in having his wishes carried out. Many of the Russian representatives in Bulgarian territory were Pan Slavists, and their enthusiasm often exceeded their discretion. They had ardent supporters in Moscow and St Petersburg, and, whatever they did, they expected their conduct to be overlooked in government circles, and very likely approved.¹²

Another situation which made trouble for the European Commission resulted from the difficulty the Turks and Bulgarians had in getting along with each other. During the war, until the Russians drove the Turks out, there were massacres and executions of Bulgarians in Eastern Roumelia, but in 1878 and 1879, the Christians had the upper hand and there were many charges of mistreatment of Turks, some of which, no doubt, were well founded. Numerous petitions were sent in giving details of violence, murder, violations of women, and burning of Turkish houses and mosques.¹³ British consuls, upon investigation, found instances of the abuse of Mussulmans.¹⁴ Worse suffering resulted from famine and from exposure than from direct violence. A very large number of Turks left their homes upon the approach of the Russians after the Russian armies crossed the Balkans. They had much better have stayed, for

¹⁰*Parlia Papers, Turkey, No 9, 1878*, pp 982, 998

¹¹*Ibid*, p 975

¹²It was a rather frequent practice for Russian foreign representatives to act independently of the Government at St Petersburg. Cf G L Dickinson, *the International Anarchy*. At one time Jonin in answer to a remark that the Prince had always been on good terms with the Tsar until the coming of Soboleff and Kaulbars, remarked "The Tsar is not Russia." Koch, *First Alexander des Bulgaren Darmstadt*, p 184.

¹³See for example a list of petitions in *Parlia Papers, Turkey, No 9, 1878*, pp 335-42.

¹⁴*Ibid*, pp 191, 196, 197, 495, etc.

the Russians did not as a rule, treat the Turks badly. When they left their homes however, their Bulgarian neighbors or Bulgarian fugitives seized their houses and little farms and they found it hard, if they came back, to establish their claims. In some cases the claim was not justified, and where it was, the courts and magistrates were not friendly. To care for Turkish fugitives at Adrianople and elsewhere in their borders, was a duty of the Porte, but to do so was beyond its capacity, and they had to depend largely upon private charity. Many perished.¹⁶

Such interests were incidental to the main work of the European Commission. The tasks for which it existed were to elaborate a constitution for Eastern Roumelia and to manage its finances. The administration was to remain in the hands of the Russians until they should leave in May, 1879. However, the control of the finances was supposed to carry with it a considerable measure of control over the administration.¹⁶ The commission sat for eight months—the Treaty allowed three. They held seventy sessions and gave to the Eastern Roumelians, an "Organic Statute" of 495 articles, with annexes of 637.¹⁷ There was to be an assembly of one house made up of 56 members, 10 appointed, 10 serving ex officio, and 36 elected. Local government, the organization of the gendarmerie and that of the local militia as well as the functions of the central government were provided for in great detail. It was too elaborately worked out. More should have been left to the initiative of the people and

¹⁶"80,000 refugees at one time occupied the Caza of Gumurdjina. Of these, in three months 10,000 were carried off by disease, exposure, etc.; 30,000 more were sent to Adrianople, Constantinople, etc., and from these places were transhipped in large numbers to Smyrna and other places in Asia. At this present moment 40,000 still occupy this district, and except between 6,000 and 7,000 who are in the town and live in huts in its immediate vicinity they are distributed in the different villages. Their pinched faces and wild half-famished looks told only too plainly their story. From the report of Robert H. Walpole, *Parlia Papers, Turkey, No. 9, 1879*, p. 432. See also the report of D. Mackenzie Wallace, *ibid.*, pp. 433-35, and other particulars in the same volume.

¹⁶The principal financial regulations issued by the International Commission were that they should make the budget, make payments, regulate salaries, and appoint the Director General of Finances. *Parlia Papers, Turkey, No. 9, 1878-79*, p. 65.

¹⁷The Organic Statute is given in State Papers, Vol. 70, and in *Parlia Papers, Turkey, No. 9, 1879*.

more chance for adaptation ¹⁸ A provision which forbade any change in the Organic Statute was perhaps logical, as it was made by the representatives of the Powers, but was hardly wise. The Sultan had the right of veto and used it on certain occasions to the detriment of the province ¹⁹ One of the rights given him by the Treaty of Berlin, the Sultan did not think best to exercise, that was the occupation of the Eastern Roumelian frontier with Turkish soldiers That seems strange when so much was made at the Berlin Conference of that provision. But either he did not want to spare the soldiers, or he was afraid it would lead to serious trouble in view of the intense opposition of the province to the presence of Turkish soldiers anywhere within their borders Representatives of the Powers in Constantinople advised caution in the matter

The financial duties of the European Commission gave a good deal of trouble The Russian governor claimed that whatever undertakings had been entered upon under Russian administration must be carried on by them and that money for the purpose must be reserved Mr Schmidt, who had been appointed Director General of Finance, received only 10,000 pounds, Turkish, from the branch of the Treasury at Philippopolis, and he had difficulty in getting hold of the amount held in Slivno The archives of the treasury were sadly incomplete, a corrupt, or at any rate unfavorable, contact had been made with a certain M Marechal, and a large sum of money had been sent from Eastern Roumelia to Bulgaria ²⁰ On his journey to Slivno, it was with difficulty that Mr Schmidt was protected from violence The people with whom he talked said the hostility shown was not personal but was directed against the European Commission This body was intending to bring back the Turkish government and to take money which belonged to widows and orphans to the Sultan at Constantinople ²¹ Before

¹⁸There were certain unimportant details which might be changed by the legislative body

¹⁹C Serkis, *La Roumélie orientale et la Bulgarie actuelle*, pp 59-60

²⁰*Parlia Papers, Turkey, No 9*, pp 226-27 See also p 349, and Wolff, *op cit*, pp 222 ff

²¹*Ibid*, p 750 "The Governor of Slivno is still committing great irregularities He is ordering the local cashier to make payments without any reference to the Commission or the Committee on Finance and he is prohibiting the

the European Commission was dissolved, things were somewhat better Sir Drummond Wolff wrote to Salisbury in May, 1879, that "during the last few weeks the Direction of Finance has been progressing more favorably," that Mr Schmidt had procured the Slivno chest, and that the sum of 80,000 l was in the treasury.²² However, it was not found an easy matter to raise the amount needed for current expenses, and for the dues to Turkey.²³

The man selected to preside under the Sultan over the destinies of Eastern Roumelia was a man of Bulgarian ancestry through his mother, but Greek by his father, and of Greek education His father was governor of Samos and had the title of Prince, which, accordingly, was also given the son The son,

payment into our hands of certain sums due us In short, I entirely despair of the Commission obtaining a complete hold of the finances, before the evacuation" *Parlia Papers, Turkey, No 9, p 712* Wolff to Salisbury, March 6, 1879

²²*Ibid*, p 1043

²³Sir Drummond Wolff's account of the work of the Eastern Roumelian Commission is worth quoting at this point "It was determined to form a distinct Government for Eastern Roumelia, to settle that Government on a solid and economical basis, to secure for the Sultan that amount of authority which appertains to a Monarch in Constitutional countries and for the people the most ample measure of freedom, equality, and self-government, under laws and institutions adapted to local exigences

"With this view the Governor-General, by Treaty necessarily a Christian, and approved by the Powers, was made as it were the Sultan's Minister for Eastern Roumelia He was to act in two capacities, namely, as the head of the Local Administration, and as the Agent of the Sultan for such rights as were reserved to the Sovereign himself The people were to be self-taxed, to collect their own taxes, and to maintain their own police and legal Tribunals In a word, the Local Administration was separate from, and independent of, any control from Constantinople, except that of the Sultan himself Law and justice were secured and as I hope an equitable Local Administration

"In return, the Sultan was vested with quite as much power as the Queen exercises in her kingdom The law runs in his name His sanction with a limitation of time is required for the making, alteration, or abrogation of laws He is the fountain of honor, and appoints the principal officers of the local militia and gendarmerie His approval is necessary for the nomination of the chief officers of the province He has the power of amnesty and pardon He is the head of the Posts, Customs, and Telegraphs, the guardian of the frontiers, and the diplomatic organ He has the right of coinage He receives three-tenths of the revenues of the province for the purposes of the Central Government" *Parlia Papers, Turkey, No 15, 1880, p 2*

Alexander Bogovides, or Aleko Pasha, as the Turks called him, had had considerable diplomatic experience as representative of the Porte. He had been Turkish ambassador in Paris and Vienna. He was an accomplished linguist, though, strange to say, he was not acquainted with Bulgarian.²⁴ On the whole he was popular, or at least acceptable, to the Roumelians. When his train first entered Bulgarian territory from Constantinople, the people along the route were anxious to see whether he wore the Turkish head dress or the Bulgarian. Was he to be closely under the influence of the Sultan, or was he to rule as a Bulgarian governor? He had asked the advice of the British ambassador, Sir Henry Layard, and Layard said that he wouldn't advise him, but he thought the proper thing was to wear the fez.²⁵ Aleko had not done so, however. When he got to the border, he took off his Turkish fez, his wife handed him the Bulgarian kalpak, and he put it on. The tacit promise he thus made was well kept, for he ruled in the interests of the province. He reminded his people in his speech read to them that no Ottoman troops could be called in without his orders, and he hoped their conduct would be such that it would not be necessary to call them in.²⁶ He never had occasion to send for them, and as we have seen, the Sultan never thought it best to send troops to occupy the frontier. His intention was, he told an interviewer, to fill government offices with Bulgarians, for he was confident that he could find competent Bulgarians.²⁷ In this matter he kept his promise, though he thought best to appoint a foreigner to manage the finances, in fact the same Mr. Schmidt who was employed by the European Commission.

This European Commission held together long enough to see the new government started, making the point especially that

²⁴Aleko Pasha was wealthy, but he and his wife were loath to spend their money. For that reason, and perhaps because he liked a quiet life, he entertained very little. He was much interested in the study of language, and was fond of using a comparative word book. He spoke French, Greek, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Italian, Rumanian, and German fluently, but not Bulgarian. In the Bulgarian language he never became proficient. Von Mach, *Elf Jahre Balkan*, pp. 146, 161.

²⁵*Parha Papers, Turkey, No. 9*, p. 1043.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 1046.

²⁷*Parha Papers, Turkey, No. 9*, pp. 1031-32.

Turkish troops could not be called in without their consent. No action by the commission was found necessary, and it soon disbanded, to be reformed, however, a little later for the purpose of advising the Porte in regard to the organization of the other European provinces of the Ottoman Empire, according to Article XXIII of the Treaty of Berlin.

Another European Commission was appointed to ascertain conditions prevailing among the inhabitants of Eastern Roumelia, where, in the Rhodope Mountains south of Philippopolis, there was great suffering among large numbers of Turkish refugees. For much of the suffering, the Russian army seemed to be responsible. Stories of horrible murders, violation of women, and massacres of children were told to members of the Commission. The stories were not credited by some of the Commissioners and some of the British public.²⁸ It was held to be not the duty of the Commission to fix responsibility, but to reveal conditions in order that relief might be sent.

The internal history of Eastern Roumelia, compared to that of Bulgaria during the years 1879 to 1885, was uneventful. There was no coup d'état as in Bulgaria in 1881, and for two or three years there were no political parties. Two appeared at the elections of 1881, one called the *unionists* and the other the *unionists*, the former liberal, the latter conservative. Both names seemed to have been chosen by the conservatives. Both parties were for the union, but inasmuch as the conservatives claimed to stand for the only practicable way of bringing about the union, that is, with the help of Russia, they had to monopolize the name. The name *unionist*, meaning one supported from the budget, seemed to imply that those who belonged to that party were in it only for money and power. 1881 was the year of Prince Alexander's assumption of power and Karaveloff and other Liberals came to Philippopolis to help keep things active there. A newspaper was started in the interest of the Liberals. Karaveloff was not allowed by the Sultan to take an office offered him and, although he stood for election to the assembly, he failed.

²⁸See *Spectator* for Nov. 16, 23, and 30, 1878. The correspondent of the *Daily News* and other English observers acquitted the Russian army of the atrocities charged.

It was the desire and expectation of Russia to rule in Eastern Roumelia, as it was in Bulgaria, but in one, as in the other, she failed for lack of real sympathy with the people. She showed herself unkind and overbearing. The Russian representatives looked upon themselves as masters, not as helpers, and their meddling, dictatorial ways did not fail to alienate the Bulgarians south of the Balkans as well as those to the north. The following anecdote is told by von Huhn in his *Struggle of the Bulgarians for National Independence*

"An Eastern Roumelian once repeated to me the following speech which had been addressed to him by a Russian consul at an evening party. 'You are a prefect? Very well, but I hope that you are aware that you only hold that post, thanks to Russia, and that it is your duty to consider yourself a Russian prefect. You Bulgarians imagine sometimes that we are only here on a visit, but you must be made to understand that we are quite at home here.' 'And,' added the prefect, 'it was not as if the consul had told me this only once! But whenever he met me he repeated the same thing, so that finally I used to get into a state of nervous excitement when I only caught sight of him in the distance.'"²⁹

No one however could resent the fatherly advice given the Bulgarians of Eastern Roumelia by Tsar Alexander II upon the departure of the Russian troops in May, 1879. "I know there are many amongst you," he said, "who are not satisfied with the position created for your country by the Treaty, and who desire by force and revolution to attain an object incompatible with the decision of the Powers. I cannot approve of such an intention, since its execution without the will and consent of the Powers is out of the question and might involve your country in fresh disasters." Consul-General Michell however, was of the opinion that some Bulgarians were disappointed that the Tsar counselled quiet.³⁰

After the Tsar's proclamation General Obrutcheff spoke. He had been chosen to present the message from Russia, because it was believed that a statement from an ardent Pan Slavist, such as he, would be more effective than from a more conserva-

²⁹Pp. 13-14.

³⁰*Parlia Papers, Turkey, No 9, p 1024.*

tive representative. He told them that it was of no use to expect help from any outside power to accomplish the desired union. "Neither Russia or Europe desires the shedding of another drop of blood"³¹ He told them he thought the presence in Eastern Roumelia of Turkish soldiers was not likely, that the strategical advantages of garrisoning the frontier were found to be of no account, that they should keep themselves quiet and not evoke the necessity of Turkish troops in their country. For a little time, the hope of the union of the two provinces in the near future was given up.

The Russian representative in Eastern Roumelia at first was Prince Tzertelev, and as long as he was there, Russian interests did not suffer. During the last months of his holding the office he was on leave of absence and his place was taken by his secretary, M. Isvolski, the same one who played so important a part in the negotiations preceding the World War. He was a man of ability and tact, although at that time less than twenty-five years of age. In 1881 both men left, and M. Krebel was made Consul-General. He is described as a worthy rival of Kaulbars, and relations between him and Aleko Pasha soon became strained.³² "Krebel meddled in the affairs of the country, expressed a judgment over each regulation of the Governor-General, claimed the following out of his decision and exercised pressure upon representatives of the Sobranje through his presence in person at each session." A national party began at this time, they had a flag on which was inscribed "Bulgarians for Bulgaria and through Bulgaria." Forty per cent of the representatives were included in the party.³³ In the army an anti-Russian party developed. In 1881, twelve demands were pressed for increasing the share of the Bulgarian soldiers in their own army. Some of these were, that all places on the staff should be filled by Bulgarian officers, that the Adjutant General and the Military Adviser should be native Bulgarians, that no independent commands should be conferred upon those not pro-

³¹*Ibid*, p. 1026. Another translation is "I say to you frankly, neither Russia nor Europe is willing to shed another drop of blood for you." Seaks, *op. cit.*, p. 96, note.

³²Major von Mach, *Elf Jahre Balkan*, p. 170.

³³Serge Gopcevic, *Bulgarien und Ostrumelien*, p. 278.

ficient in Bulgarian speech. If the Governor-General should not grant their demands, they said they would resign. Most of their demands were granted. Another manifestation of the dislike of Russian control of the army was the bad behavior of scholars toward Russian teachers, so that the Russian Government had to be particular as to whom it sent.³⁴ After a while Krebel was sent to Spain, and M. Sovokin was put in his place. He was indolent and left things to his secretary, M. Igelstrom. The latter knew nothing of the preparations for the revolution of 1885, and was dismissed in disgrace for his alleged lack of intelligence.³⁵

Austria seems to have scored a point over Russia in Eastern Roumelia. The Austrian representative, Ritter von Piombazzi, was held in high esteem by Aleko Pasha and his policy of refusing to meddle in Roumelian politics was a refreshing contrast, to that of most of the Russian representatives. Here was an illustration of the fable of the contest between the sun and the wind as to which one should make the traveller take off his coat. The British representative, M. Michell, was not quite so much a favorite. He did not attach himself so closely to Aleko Pasha as Mr. Lascelles, British Consul General in Sofia, did to Prince Alexander.³⁶

³⁴Mach, *Elf Jahre Balkan*, p. 195 ff.

³⁵Drandar, *Cinq ans de règne*, p. 50.

³⁶*Ibid.*, p. 47, Mach, *op cit*, p. 171. Revolution of Philippopolis, p. 36.

CHAPTER IX

UNION OF THE TWO BULGARIAS

On September 18th, 1885, came the event to which every good Bulgarian had been looking forward for seven years—the union of the two Bulgarias. Prince Alexander was at his castle near Varna at this time. When he came in from his morning ride there were several telegrams on his table and the first one he opened was from Major Nicolareff, commander-in-chief of the South Bulgarian troops. It read as follows ¹

"To His Highness Prince Alexander! The whole people of South Bulgaria has to-day in all cities and places, proclaimed the union with North Bulgaria and designated Your Highness as Prince. The army of South Bulgaria has already taken the oath of allegiance and stationed itself on the Turkish border. They await with impatience to see their new chief in their midst and to receive his orders." The Prince without much hesitation decided to accept the situation although he was apparently not at all prepared for the event. Karaveloff, his prime minister was not with him, but the Prince found him by telegraph at Tirnovo and asked him "Are you ready to go with me to Philippopolis?"

Karaveloff answered, "Yes, for you have no choice but to abdicate or place yourself at the head of the movement."

To this the Prince replied "I will, then, go with you to-day over the Schipka Pass to Philippopolis."

Of course the Prince knew, as did everyone else, that there were many who desued the union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia. It was expected some time, but its coming now was a surprise both to the Prince and to everyone else, except those who had successfully put the thing through. A few days before the event the Prince had been apprised of an active movement for the union, and had met two of its agents, but he had come out strongly against it, and had, apparently, won his visitors to his

¹Corti, *Alexander von Battenberg, sein Kampf den Zaren und Bismarck* pp 190, 193 ff. The story is told from a manuscript left by the Prince in the Hartenau archives.

point of view After this, the Prince seems to have given the matter no more thought ²

Whether the thing could be put through was doubtful. It was a breach, and a serious breach, of the Treaty of Berlin, which the six great Powers of Europe had signed, and for whose execution they were consequently responsible Moreover, Turkey and Bulgaria's Balkan neighbors were not likely to be pleased at the event In view of Prince Alexander's recent difficulties with Russia, there was not likely to be aid from that direction

The Russian representatives in Bulgaria at first were at a loss what attitude to take Col Tschitchagoff thoroughly approved of what had happened He threw himself into the arms of the Prince "warmly felicitating him for standing in with the Rumelists" He told the Prince that the Eastern Roumelian militia had been mobilized and sent to the frontier to defend it from Turkey, and that he had sent orders to Russian officers in different cities to submit to the new government Captain Chiravoff had said to Tschitchagoff "The movement is only the work of a party, and if Prince Alexander wishes to enter

²*Parha Papers, Turkey, No 1, 1886, p 133*

There is some doubt as to the part the Prince himself played in the plot Shortly before the proclamation of the union the Prince had an interview with M de Giers at Franzenbad and at the end of the interview Giers said to the Prince "It is well understood, is it not, that there will be nothing in Roumelia" The Prince replied that he saw no near at hand movement When the revolution came only a few weeks after this, Giers, the Tsar, and Bismarck were inclined to accuse Alexander of bad faith To the same purpose Dr J F Fuller speaks of "the insurrection in Eastern Roumelia prepared long in advance with (the Prince's) approval, and probably even with his active cooperation and cites as authorities Dr Charles Roy and Spiridon Gopcevic, both unfriendly witnesses Fuller, *Bismarck's Diplomacy at its Zenith*, p 20, Roy, *Souvenirs politiques*, etc, p 16, S Gopcevic, *Bulgarsien und Ostrumelien*, pp 303-4 M Geo Fillon, *Entre Slaves*, p 103, says that ten times during the course of 1885, the conspirators had interviews with Prince Battenberg and Karaveloff. Ten times they came to Sofia, their chief, Dr Stransky at their head, to announce that all was ready and the outbreak was at hand" M Fillon was connected with the Havas News Agency which was pro-Russian No doubt the Prince knew that there were projects in the air for the uniting of the two Bulgarias, but he himself was not of the stuff conspirators are made, and he may be acquitted of deliberately lying to Giers, if it is true that Dr Stransky and his associates had been over and over again telling him of plots that never materialized

Eastern Roumelia, I will arrest him." Chivaroff was sent to a place where he would have no chance to intercept the Prince.³ On the reception of the news in Russia, public opinion as voiced by the newspapers was almost unanimously favorable. The Saint Petersburg correspondent of the *Times* wrote that the Russians were overjoyed. There is "but one harmonious cry of proud delight and satisfaction in the Russian Press, a rare phenomenon indeed—at this successful realization of their dearest wishes and of the aspirations of the separated Bulgarians." He said that it was the prevailing opinion that the thing was planned for by the three emperors at Skierniewice and Kremsier together with the annexation of Bosnia and the Herzegovina to Austria-Hungary.⁴

Such however, were not the plans of the three Emperors just at this time, notwithstanding the provision in the Treaty of 1881, declaring for the union. The Prince had telegraphed to the Tsar "You love the Bulgarian nation, I therefore hope you will approve what I have done." To this, the Tsar replied "It is because I love the Bulgarian nation that I disapprove what you have done,"⁵ an answer that effected its purpose though it was not altogether true. The Tsar forbade the Russian Minister of War in Bulgaria to exercise his functions and the Russian officers to aid in the revolution. So M. Cantacuzene became the military attaché of M. Cojander and the Russian officers were ordered to Russia, though some were seen a little later going around in civilian clothes.⁶ The recall of the high officers of the Bulgarian army embittered the Bulgarian people, who complained that, "having paid the Russian officers like princes during six years, they are now abandoned by them in their hour of need."⁷ The conduct of the Russian agent at Sofia, Cojander, was exasperating. Nine leading members of the Chamber went to him with a message which they wished to send to the Tsar, and he refused to transmit it.⁸ So the message was

³*Revolution de Philippopolis*, pp. 59, 61

⁴*Times*, Sept. 21, 1885

⁵*Parlia Papers, Turkey, No. 1, 1886*, p. 6

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 103. "They came in civilian clothes to say good-bye with tears in their eyes." Roy, *op cit.*, p. 26

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 68

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 22

sent directly. Also a delegation was sent to interview the Tsar, who was then at Copenhagen. The delegation was received both by Giers and by the Tsar, but not much satisfaction was obtained. The official position taken by the Russian Government was expressed in a telegram from Giers. He said that there had been no change in the sentiments of Russia toward the Bulgarian people. It was intelligible that the Bulgarians should desire the union—such was also the wish of Russia, but the Emperor could not approve the means to which they had had recourse against the wish of His Majesty.⁹

The revolution in Eastern Roumelia was of special concern to the Porte, as both Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia were her dependencies, and the deposition of the governor she had recently appointed was a measure of rebellion against her authority. Nevertheless, the Sultan was not sure that it was best for him to act. The seriousness of the situation was not realized at his court until the twentieth when he sent messengers to find out from foreign representatives what their views were.¹⁰ Then he called together all the ministers and former Grand Viziers in the capital to a council. The session lasted many hours. No action was agreed upon, but it was decided to send a diplomatic note of protest to the Powers, and to despatch a few hundred men to the frontier.¹¹ The Sultan himself did not want to take any decided action, and so changed the ministry at this time. He simply appealed to the Powers to have the Treaty of Berlin enforced.¹² The Powers were anxious that the Sultan should not use force, as, if he did, there was great danger that public opinion in Russia would compel that government to interfere with a likelihood of worse massacres than in 1876. They acknowledged that the Sultan had the right to attack the Prince, but argued that it

⁹*Parlia Papers, Turkey, No. 1, 1886*, p. 89. The Russian Foreign Minister told the British ambassador that the Tsar held the union desirable, but that he did not approve of revolution and that they could count on his intervention if the matter should be taken up. The deputation itself reported that the Tsar promised in union with the other Powers to try to bring about a favorable solution. F. Rachfahl, *Deutschland und die Weltpolitik*, I, 547.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹¹*Times*, Sept. 24, 1885.

¹²*Parlia Papers, Turkey, No. 1, 1886*, p. 10. Kiamil Pasha became Grand Vizier and Said Pasha, Foreign Minister.

would not pay him to do so. Salisbury reminded him of the probable great expenditure and danger and showed him that Prince Alexander was likely to be more favorable to Turkey than anyone else that might take his place.¹³ One of the first things the Prince did after the proclamation of union was to send a message to the Porte giving assurance that the Union carried with it absolutely no hostile intention against Turkey, and promising that it would be his most earnest endeavor to protect the Turks and other Mohammedans living under his rule.¹⁴ The Prince kept his word, and became well liked by his Mohammedan subjects of whom there were 600,000 in Bulgaria and 180,000 in Eastern Roumelia.¹⁵

More threatening than Turkey were the other Balkan States, with one exception. Roumania kept calm, thinking she would gain more by doing so than by fighting for a little strip of territory. Serbia and Greece began immediately to talk about compensations. If Bulgaria was to be made a Greater Bulgaria, there ought to be a Greater Serbia and a Greater Greece. M. Gavashanine, the Serbian Foreign Minister, said to the British ambassador that it would be quite impossible for Serbia to remain inactive. Her sacrifices on account of the Treaty of Berlin had been enormous, and several million francs had been expended for railroads alone, whereas neither Turkey nor Bulgaria had met their respective obligations. So Serbia insisted on the Treaty or aggrandizement. There was no money in the treasury, but that was a reason for going to war. "A naked man will jump far" is a Serbian proverb that the Serbian minister quoted. In what direction she should jump, whether toward the south or east was at first uncertain. She finally decided to attack Bulgaria and appropriate the districts lying just east of her border, the former sanjaks of Sofia and Vidin. Her army was promptly mobilized and money was borrowed through Austrian and French bankers. In Athens, a public meeting was held at which inflammatory speeches were made. One of the leaders, who seems to have been one of their most eloquent orators exclaimed: "Let the Powers go to the devil, we do not want their

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 80

¹⁴Corti, *op cit.*, p. 199

¹⁵*Parha Papers, Turkey, No. 1, 1886*, p. 64

protection nor are we afraid of their threats " When the prime-minister said that Greece wished to live in peace, the crowd responded with "Long live war " But her activities were more likely to be against Turkey than against Bulgaria ¹⁶

The Great Powers who had made the Treaty of Berlin were very anxious over the situation, and held interviews and sent dispatches back and forth and tried in every way to control events It was especially the affair of Austria-Hungary, as the nearest friend of Serbia at that time, to restrain her So Kalnoky, foreign minister, tried, and had Count Khevenhuller, Austro-Hungarian minister in Serbia, tell King Milan that Austria-Hungary would not approve of arbitrary military action on the part of Serbia King Milan noticed that the word 'tolerate' was not used and from that fact, took encouragement ¹⁷ At another time, Kalnoky directed Khevenhuller to say that Austria-Hungary could not forfeit good relations with other Powers for the sake of Serbia He had added to the instructions sent for the regulation of Serbia's conduct this sentence: "If Serbia instead of its present peaceful policy changes it for an aggressive one, then it will separate from us,"¹⁸ but Francis Joseph eliminated that statement.

Bismarck, who was contemptuous of all the little Balkan States and thought them impudent to meddle with the settlement the Great Powers had reached, was not in sympathy with the Austrian alliance with Serbia, but he acknowledged Austria to be more especially interested in the Balkans and conceded that perhaps the Austrians were the best judges in the matter He said, however, that Germany could not fight to help them because of the French danger In a letter to Prince Henry of Reuss, Bismarck had some interesting and appropriate things to say about the demand for compensations, which Greece and Serbia were making

"In regard to a right of Serbia to take compensation because Bulgaria and East Roumelia were united, we cannot think in what sense the word "right" may be taken The alleged justi-

¹⁶*Parha Papers, Turkey, No 1, 1886*, pp 113-15 Greece started several months later to seize territory which she thought she ought to have The Powers protested, and she was brought to time by a blockade of her coast

¹⁷Corti, *op cit*, p 200

¹⁸*Ibid*, p 206

fication, the maintaining of the balance of power will not bear examination

If one understands the word in the usual sense, that no state should be powerful enough to threaten the independence of the rest, it strikes one that we cannot possibly apply it to the relations of the Balkan States with each other. Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, have now each something like two million people, Montenegro only one quarter million, but Roumania five or six, this relation would undergo no essential change through the addition of 800,000 Roumelists to Bulgaria. The use of the word "compensation" in the mouth of Serbia is simply a palliation of their covetousness. I would not grudge their receiving an increase of territory, if possible in a peaceful way, but to assert a rightful claim is a presumption of a childish nature such as we are accustomed to expect from the young people of the South."¹⁹

Serbia had had quarrels with Bulgaria over two matters during the year before the coup d'état of September 18th. One was a boundary dispute. The river Timok formed part of the boundary line between the two countries, and during the year 1884, the channel of the river had changed somewhat, so that there was a doubt as to whether a certain island near Bregovo belonged to the one country, or to the other. The Serbian occupying troops were driven out by those of Bulgaria, and a breach of diplomatic relations ensued.²⁰ Attempts were made by Prince Alexander and King Milan to settle the question of possession amicably, but it remained unsolved in 1885. Another matter that had led to controversy and bad blood was the presence in Bulgaria of political fugitives from Serbia, and the refusal of the Bulgarian government to deliver them up. The discussion over the little island led to a correspondence between the two rulers which reached a considerable degree of intimacy, as neither of them thought the boundary dispute very important. Their letters contained expressions of the deepest mutual regard and affection. In December, King Milan had written "Let Bulgaria and Serbia fight one another, we are, and we were, and

¹⁹*Die Grosse Politik*, V, 12. He might have added, "old people of the North." Cf. G. L. Dickinson, *International Anarchy*, p. 282, apropos of the demand for compensations by Germany, Russia, and England in China.

²⁰*Times*, Oct. 29, 1884, p. 8.

we shall remain true to each other"²¹ No doubt he meant it at the time When, soon after the union was declared, Serbia threatened war against either Bulgaria or Turkey, Prince Alexander, remembering the friendly relations he had recently had with King Milan, sent him a letter giving the reasons for the union of the two Bulgarias and suggesting an understanding among the Balkan States in regard to spheres of action The Prince also suggested an intimate entente between the two countries King Milan did not think favorably of such a plan, nor would he consider joint action against Turkey from whom Alexander was expecting an attack Three weeks later the Prince sent a messenger to King Milan looking toward an agreement, but the Serbian ruler refused to receive him²²

For Great Britain, Salisbury did the correct thing upon receiving the news of the event of September 18th, and telegraphed to Sir Arthur Paget, ambassador at Vienna, asking if Austria-Hungary was disposed to join Her Majesty's Government in making strong representations to the Bulgarian Government in favor of maintaining the Treaty of Berlin²³ To the Queen he expressed himself as in favor of a personal union of the two Bulgarias with other arrangements remaining as they were The Queen in answer referred to the bad treatment of the Prince by the Tsar, and thought it well to encourage the building of a strong state in the Balkans, if it were to be unfriendly to Russia She thought the deposition of the Prince would be an injustice, and a danger to Turkey²⁴ On September 27th, Salisbury directed Sir William White, British ambassador at Constantinople, to strive to keep the Sultan from military intervention in East-

²¹Corti, *op cit*, pp 173 ff, 203

²²Corti, *op cit*, p 203 These are the reasons given by King Milan for his refusal to receive Prince Alexander's letter "He felt that if the contents of the Prince's letter had not received the sanction of His Highness's Ministers any such negotiations upon such a basis might be discovered by them later, and that if they were merely a platonic expression of friendly feelings which did not in reality exist, they would be useless Besides, he might offend the Sultan by negotiating with his vassal who had violated his engagements *Parha Papers, Turkey, No 1, 1886*, p. 204

²³*Ibid*, p 2

²⁴Corti, *op cit*, p 202

ern Roumelia if no violence were offered to the Mussulmans there, and to resist proposals for the deposition of the Prince ²⁵

To English audiences Salisbury expressed himself on the Bulgarian situation, on October 7th at Newport and at the Lord Mayor's banquet on November 9th. One thing he had to do was to explain the change of policy from that of 1878. He claimed both policies to be sound. In 1878, the Greater Bulgaria could not be tolerated when it was occupied by Russian armies. Now Bulgaria was independent of Russia, and it was in Great Britain's interest that it be strong. "Our policy," he said at Newport, "I need not tell you is to uphold the Turkish Empire whenever it can be genuinely and healthily upheld; but whenever its rule is proved by events to be inconsistent with the welfare of populations, then to strive to cherish and foster strong self-sustaining nationalities who shall make a genuine and important contribution to the future freedom and independence of Europe." ²⁶ At the Lord Mayor's banquet he said he was sure that if the decision of the Powers were against the people's wishes, it would not stand for long. He also expressed the opinion that it was not good statesmanship to oppose the political change in Bulgaria on the ground that, if additions were made to Bulgarian territory, compensation must be given her Balkan neighbors. If the Powers went on that principle, Bulgaria would not refrain from aggression, but Bulgaria, Greece, and Serbia would all go together and you would have three small Powers to deal with instead of one. ²⁷ The British policy of 1885 was more in accord with British democratic tradition than that of seven years earlier, and no doubt the prime-minister took more satisfaction in following it than he did that of the Berlin Congress, which he had supported as Beaconsfield's Foreign Minister.

It was, of course, recognized as soon as the outbreak in Eastern Roumelia occurred that it would be necessary for all the Great Powers to act together in order to act effectively. The Russian government proposed that the ambassadors at Constan-

²⁵*Parlia Papers, Turkey, No 1, 1886*, pp. 29-30.

²⁶*Times*, Oct. 8, 1885.

²⁷*Times*, Nov. 10, 1885.

people should meet and agree upon a policy.²⁸ They succeeded after a few informal meetings in agreeing upon a declaration, of which the following are significant portions.

The Powers received favorably the Sultan's request to join him "in the task of suppressing the disorders agitating one of the provinces of his Empire." They censure severely the events which have occurred in Eastern Roumelia.

The maintenance of peace being the unanimous desire of the Great European Powers, they are determined to make it respected throughout the whole of the Balkan Peninsula.

"They call the serious attention of the Bulgarian people to the responsibility under which they rest, and they warn them against yielding to reckless impulse, the consequence of which they would undergo without having any hope of external aid."²⁹ The note was delivered to the Bulgarian government on October 15th, and a few days later they replied, promising to comply with its conditions.

The Government have succeeded in putting the Bulgarian populations beyond the frontiers on their guard against dangerous impulses which might disturb peace.

They thank the Powers for their benevolent disposition, and trust that they will intercede with the Sultan for the realization of the ardent desire of the population so that instead of seeing the peace threatened by the separation of two sister countries, they may strengthen its security by union.³⁰

But the declaration of October 13th was only a gesture. In order to solve the Eastern Roumelian question, a more formal meeting of the Powers was necessary, so the ambassadors of the Six Powers and the Turkish foreign minister met in November for that purpose. As at the Congress of Berlin, Russia and Great Britain were opposed to each other. It was to be expected that Russia and England at this time should take opposite sides in a discussion on the Eastern Question or any other question of foreign policy. In this same year, war was threatened on account of Russian aggression in Afghanistan. Russia was Great Britain's most consistent enemy during the whole of the last half of the nineteenth century. The reasons for the reversal of attitude by these two Powers is easily understood.

²⁸*Parlia Papers, Turkey, No 1, 1886, p 15*

²⁹*Ibid*, pp 87-88

³⁰*Ibid*, p 151

Russia could not put up with the "ingratitude" of Alexander of Battenberg. England, whose representative came home in 1878 boasting of a peace with honor, because the plan for a Greater Bulgaria had been thwarted, was pleased with it now because the Greater Bulgaria of 1885 was not friendly to Russia.

Seven formal meetings of the ambassadors were held.⁸¹ The Sultan wished the Powers to insist on the status quo ante and persuade the Prince to leave Eastern Roumelia with his troops. The Powers, except England, agreed. If that were done, the dignity of the Powers would be upheld, and the sanctity of treaties declared. The Eastern Powers were endeavoring at this time to work together. Italy stood with them and France was not ready to assert herself against them, so England stood alone. Her representatives argued for the spirit of the Treaty of Berlin, and for material order while those of Russia, Austria, and Germany stood for legal order and the letter of the treaty.⁸² Salisbury was for taking account of the wishes of the people. He thought it possible to adopt "arrangements which shall conduce to the security of the main objects of the Treaty and be in accordance with its general spirit." To disregard the popular movement in Eastern Roumelia "will be to introduce an element of increased instability into the Balkan Peninsula. Such a policy can only for a short time offer any respite from disturbance."⁸³

Russia and Austria could hardly be expected to be in sympathy with popular movements, and that was one of the reasons why they were opposed to the union. Said Pasha objected to Sir William White's proposal that the wishes of the people in the Turkish dominions be taken into account. That had been done in the case of Roumania and the Sultan had lost his provinces. He repudiated the expression, "wish of the population." "That

⁸¹Not counting a supplementary meeting, April, 1886.

⁸²How sincere the governments of the Three Emperors were in their insisting upon the sanctity of treaties may be appreciated when one recollects the secret treaty they made in 1881, by which Austria-Hungary reserved the right to take Bosnia and Herzegovina at the moment when she should judge it opportune, and agreed not to oppose the union of Bulgaria and East Roumelia at some future time.

⁸³Instructions to Sir William White. *Parha Papers, Turkey, No. 1, 1886*, pp. 188-89.

expression is contrary to the conservative ideas which prevail in Europe "81 Nelidoff, Russian ambassador approved the principle advocated by the Turk. At an earlier meeting of the conference, he had compared the method of unifying Germany and Italy with that by which the two Bulgarias had come together. "We have here indeed," he said, "the Representatives of two Powers, which have seen their national unity established, thanks to illustrious sovereigns and statesmen, whilst violent and revolutionary attempts always failed. In Bulgaria wise counsels have not prevailed "82 When we think of the crooked diplomacy and the blood and iron policy of the "illustrious sovereigns and statesmen" and how the union of the two Bulgarias had taken place with practically none of either, we wonder about the value of the political standards which make the practice of war and deception the regular and normal course and the carrying out of the wishes of the people concerned contrary to the plans of these illustrious sovereigns and statesmen something not to be countenanced.

The conference of ambassadors at Constantinople accomplished nothing. They had to let the Eastern Roumelian question settle itself. It seemed to be the fault of Great Britain, but Sir William White said:

"If Nelidoff had taken the least trouble to seek for a formula at the Conference which might have secured uniformity, he might have got one. But he wanted to carry things with a high hand, thought the status quo ante could be reimposed by threats, and landed Russia where she now is, recommending the Turk to put down in his own fashion Christian orthodox Slavs "83

⁸¹*Ibid*, p. 300.

⁸²*Ibid*, p. 245.

⁸³From a letter of Dec. 7, 1885, by Sir William White to Sir R. Morier, British ambassador at St. Petersburg in Edward's *Life of White*. White was unusually well informed on the Eastern Questions, and was not so much inclined to overlook the faults of the Turks as Sir Henry Elliot or Sir Austin Layard. "He had," says Dr. Washburn, "a more comprehensive and accurate knowledge of everything concerning the Eastern question than any other man living, and a better knowledge of all the men with whom he had to deal here and in Europe." *Fifty Years in Constantinople*, p. 186. Cf. also, Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, p. 136.

The attack on Bulgaria by Serbia, which had been threatening, came while the conference was holding its ineffectual meetings. It had an important bearing on events. There were reasons, apparently not very important, which Serbia gave for her aggression and other reasons which were the real ones. King Milan seems to have calculated that his position in Serbia would be much strengthened by the war. His position needed strengthening, and would be, he thought, if he could make territorial acquisitions through a successful war. With the Bulgarian army weakened by the recall of its Russian officers, and further handicapped by its station in Eastern Roumelia far from the Serbian border, he thought success would be easy. There was an element in Serbia which favored the war. Milan seems not to have been egged on by the Austrian government, as is quite commonly represented. As indicated above, Kalnoky had instructed Kevenhuller to say that Austria did not approve of an attack upon Bulgaria. King Milan was told that there would be no hope of the extension of his territory by an attack on Bulgaria. But he told Count Kevenhuller that even if Austria-Hungary was for the union, he was not. His honor was bound up with the restoration of the status quo or extension of territory for Serbia, and on account of his personal position, he could not back down, it would be equivalent to his abdication. "Austria-Hungary cannot support both of us. She has the choice between me and the Prince of Bulgaria."¹⁷

The war began November 14th and lasted two weeks. Serbia won some successes at first, nevertheless, when the Bulgarian troops came from Eastern Roumelia, the Serbian army was driven back into Serbia and the victorious Bulgarian army would have reached Belgrade if Kevenhuller, the Austrian representative, had not interfered in behalf of Serbia. Kalnoky, Austrian foreign minister at this time, gives as reasons for checking the Bulgarian advance that it would have aroused all the Slavs and would have overthrown the Obienovich dynasty. Bismarck did not approve of Austrian interference. He was afraid the *Drei Kaiserbund*, whose importance to him was very great, would be broken. Besides he argued that a Greater

¹⁷Corti, *op cit*, p. 214.

Serbia would not be in the interest of Austria-Hungary and that King Milan, who was nothing but a hysterical old woman, could not be relied on. Giers, too, said that, if Austria-Hungary should attack Bulgaria, it would give the impression that the *Drei Kaiserbund* was broken. So Kalnoky renounced mobilization and claimed that Khevenhüller, who was much more pro-Serbian than Kalnoky, had exceeded his instructions.³⁸

The result of Alexander's successful campaign was important in the history of Bulgaria, as it made impossible what the three Eastern Powers were trying to bring about, the *status quo ante*. The Prince became at once a national hero. Brophy, British Consul at Bourgas, wrote that he, who was an object of indifference to many Bulgarians a few weeks ago, was now a hero. They called him "the tsar who wears sandals of hide" because he wore what the common soldier wore and suffered the same hardships as he did.³⁹ Sir R. Morier wrote from St. Petersburg to Salisbury that "After such deeds, His Highness had once for all identified himself with his subjects. The idea of separating his destinies from those of the people who had fought under his guidance seemed to me one that no diplomatic combination could again entertain."⁴⁰ The Russian press which was never allowed to depart far from the views of the autocracy was full of praise for the Prince and for the Bulgarian army which was, of course, a Russian creation. An Imperial Order praised "the bravery, the devotion, the constancy, and the obedience of discipline shown by Bulgarian and Eastern Roumelian troops."⁴¹ The Conference of Ambassadors ceased to meet, and before long, Sir R. Morier wrote from St. Petersburg that "the Minister for Foreign Affairs for the first time to-day admitted in the course of conversation that a return to the *status quo ante* might not prove possible."⁴² The Tsar however, was, as always, unrelenting toward Prince Alexander.

³⁸Rachfahl, *op cit*, pp. 569-70.

³⁹*Times*, Dec. 18, 1885, p. 8. The Prince was probably better known in other parts of Bulgaria.

⁴⁰*Parlia Papers, Turkey, No. 1, 1886*, p. 372.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 374.

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 423.

Already the administration of the Principality and Eastern Roumelia had been amalgamated ⁴³ The name South Bulgaria had been substituted in public documents for that of Eastern Roumelia ⁴⁴ It was to the credit of the Prince and his government that good order had been kept in the territory they were ruling It helped his cause materially that few complaints were made of ill treatment or disorder in places where Mussulmans were numerous, and that no outbreak in Macedonia had led to a dangerous situation ⁴⁵ Karaveloff, who was chief minister at this critical period, took much credit to himself for the absence of undesirable events He told a *Times* reporter that he was the most influential Bulgarian and "You don't know," he said, "what it has cost me to keep Macedonia in check" ⁴⁶ Lascelles and other British agents were struck with the good order maintained ⁴⁷

After the failure of the Conference of the Powers to bring about a settlement, a feeble attempt was made by Turkey to deal with the situation according to her views and those of the Eastern Powers Early in December, the Porte sent two commissioners to Philippopolis to demand submission to the Sultan Igelstrom, the Russian representative there advised those in control to yield to the demands, but they were not willing to do that, and the Turkish commissioners, finding no encouragement from any other quarter, soon left, one going back to Constantinople, and the other going on to Sofia ⁴⁸

In order not to let the affair out of their control entirely, the Signatory Powers of the Treaty of Berlin thought it best to encourage the Sultan and the Prince to make an agreement which

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 183

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, p. 72

⁴⁵In the war against Serbia, the Turks fought with the Christians of Bulgaria It was the custom in Bulgaria for military decorations to be distributed to the various companies, and by them conferred upon individual men considered deserving In one company in which the majority were Christians, the soldiers voted to bestow the first decoration for distinguished service upon a Turk

⁴⁶*Times*, Oct. 27, 1885

⁴⁷*Parlia Papers, Turkey, No. 1, 1886*, p. 132

⁴⁸*Parlia Papers, Turkey, No. 2, 1886*, p. 21

they might accept, perhaps with some changes. The Prince regarded it as disgraceful that he should have to be a vassal of the Turk, but, thinking that he might use the suzerainty relationship to keep Greece and Serbia from getting Macedonia, he consented to a treaty.⁴⁹ The first item in it was that.

"The Governor-Generalship of Eastern Roumelia shall be intrusted to Prince Alexander of Bulgaria, on the basis of the Treaty of Berlin for so long as His Highness preserves a correct and faithful attitude towards the Court of His Suzerain, and devotes his efforts to maintaining order and security in the province and advancing the welfare of the Roumeliot population."

Another provision promised the support of the Bulgarian army if any of the Turkish provinces bordering on Bulgaria were attacked, and of the Turkish army, if Bulgaria were attacked. Certain districts in the Rhodope Mountain region inhabited by Mohammedans were to be handed over to Turkey, and Bulgaria agreed to pay the tribute due from Eastern Roumelia.⁵⁰

Such was the treaty made by Turkey and the Prince, but as it was a modification of the Treaty of Berlin, the Signatory Powers claimed the right to interpose. Russia, especially, objected to it. Accordingly, changes were made and the revised draft presented to the delegates of the Powers at an eighth meeting of the Conference after a five month interval. The protocol was adopted on April 5, 1886. The military agreement between Turkey and Bulgaria was not to be permitted. Russia perhaps suspected that it was against her, but she argued that it might compel Bulgaria to attack Christian neighbors. A second change made at the instigation of Russia was with regard to the position of the Prince. The revised version of the treaty read "The Governor-Generalship of Eastern Roumelia shall be intrusted to the Prince of Bulgaria in accordance with Article XVII of the Treaty of Berlin."⁵¹ In this provision thus stated, the mention of Alexander was avoided. It was another opportunity for the Tsar to show his unrelenting disapproval of his

⁴⁹Rachfall, *op cit*, p. 575

⁵⁰*Parha Papers, Turkey, No. 2, 1886*, p. 123

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 223

cousin. The same animosity was shown later when the Prince again tried to effect a reconciliation. He had taken pains to praise the Russian training of his army and, on one occasion, gave orders to have the Russian national hymn played together with that of Bulgaria. He also sent by General Cantacuzene, a letter to the Tsar. The only reply of the Tsar was "I will listen to nothing more from the Prince of Battenberg."⁵²

The Prince objected strongly to the change in the terms made with Turkey. "I cannot and will not," he said, "lend a hand to the re-establishment of international sovereignty in Eastern Roumelia which was the principal cause of the Government without strength, without authority, not respected, and consequently even injurious to the interests of the people."⁵³ Some of the diplomats thought the Prince unwise not to accept in a docile spirit what the Great Powers thought best. However that may be, one cannot but admire his spirit and conjecture that he was right.

The union was supposed to be only a personal one. Alexander of Battenberg was Prince of Bulgaria and Governor General of Eastern Roumelia, distinct entities bearing different relations to the sovereign of both, the Sultan of Turkey. However, as we have seen, the administration of the two territories had been amalgamated, and in June, 1886, the deputies elected in Eastern Roumelia went to Sofia and sat with those from Bulgaria. At the opening of the National Assembly the Prince took the stand that the union had been accomplished. This in part is what he said:

The heroic feats of the Bulgarian armies, and the enormous sacrifices endured by the nation have gained for Bulgaria the sympathy of the civilized world, caused obstacles and difficulties to disappear and thrown the weight of their influence into the scale in order that its wishes and legitimate aspirations may be satisfied. Thus it is that to-day we declare to you Deputies with great

⁵²Another example of the Tsar's displeasure, a quite unnecessary action, was his dismissal of the Prince from the Russian army where he held an honorary commission. It was a public announcement of the Tsar's hostility, and so understood. This occurred on November 3rd, and the immediate occasion, the Prince believed, was a false or exaggerated report by Cojander of what the Prince had said, or was alleged to have said about Russian officers who had been in his service. *Times*, Dec. 22, 1885, *Spectator*, Nov. 7, 1885.

⁵³*Parlia Papers, Turkey*, No. 2, 1886, p. 13.

joy, that the union of the two Bulgarias so long looked for and so sincerely desired has already been accomplished, the proof of it is that to-day a General National Bulgarian Assembly will examine and decide respecting the affairs and questions which concern the interests of our united country ⁵⁴

A few days later the Assembly put out its reply. It was not approved unanimously, for Tsankoff and about twenty of his followers who were pro-Russian at this time, left the hall and refused to vote, while two voted against it.⁵⁵ The great majority accepted the position taken by the Prince ⁵⁶

The Sultan sent remonstrances to the Prince, and the Russian newspapers violently protested. Giers said to Sir Robert Morier that it was a wholly illegal union, and a wholly illegal common parliament. The newspapers of Russia could be more outspoken than the Foreign Minister. The *Novoe Vremya* in its issue of June 17, expressed itself as follows:

It required a good deal of self confidence for the Ruler of the Principality of Bulgaria and Governor General of Eastern Roumelia to address the Representatives of the Bulgarian people in the tone and with the expressions of the Constitutional Head of an independent country, and to assure them that the union of Bulgaria is now distinctly an accomplished fact. Of course, all who listened to the speech knew very well that this is not yet the case, that Prince Alexander is at the same time a vassal Prince and a Turkish official, that the Representatives of Eastern Roumelia appear in the Assembly without any legal right, and only by the toleration of the Porte, that there does not yet exist any general Bulgarian Constitution and that the events of last winter show anything you like except the right of Prince Alexander to talk of the neighboring States of the Balkan Peninsula ⁵⁷

The Bulgarians of the two provinces went on as if they were really united and in the course of time, the situation was accepted by the European Powers.

⁵⁴*Ibid*, pp. 35-39

⁵⁵*Ibid*, p. 50

⁵⁶*Ibid*

⁵⁷*Ibid*, p. 43

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RURAL COMMUNITY TYPES

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PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
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In the study of a social topic, as in any other scientific inquiry, the investigator must select from among the complex materials at hand those facts which are relevant to a chosen viewpoint. Such a frame of reference has been utilized in choosing and handling the data here presented. While an inquiry into the complex subject of community structures involves contact with economic, political, ecclesiastical, sanitary, and other problems which might profitably be studied from these respective points of view, such facts have been noted here only in so far as they throw light upon the processes of social organization, control, adjustment, and change.

In attempting to discover the subtle facts of group life, the observer must avoid premature judgments based upon an egocentric or an ethnocentric point of view. He must also be careful not to disturb the processes which he wishes to understand. If he is too completely integrated into the group, he will be unable to view the data objectively. If he is too strange, his presence disrupts some of the customary ways and he sees instead the responses which occur while he is present as a disturbing factor. Therefore, the position of the investigator relative to the social group studied must be intermediate between that of an insider and a stranger, or, in the words of Eduard C. Lindeman, he must be a "participant observer."

This was the relation maintained by the persons who gathered the information here presented. The collection and tabulation of the data for the first community were performed by Faye E. Corner, and for the second community by Wendell L. East, graduate students at the University of Illinois. From first-hand observations, interviews, and personal documents, minute facts were secured concerning the local social organization and the subtle changes occurring therein. The residents cooperated freely in supplying the information sought.

The first-hand nature of the study precluded the use of extensive bibliographies. However, a few relevant sources dealing with the historical background of the groups studied have been cited in footnotes. Data pertaining to land holdings during the entire life of the communities were secured from courthouse records for which specific citations in the text are superfluous.

E. T. H.

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PART I
Introduction

CHAPTER I

TRENDS IN THE RURAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

An approach to the study of rural communities such as the one herein presented has utilitarian as well as humanistic significance. From such an approach it may be seen that the background of traditions, or culture, is involved in the adjustment to the competitive environment, in the maintenance of group control over its members, and in the rate and manner of infiltration of urban ways into rural life. The part played by this culture complex is here portrayed by two contrasting types of communities, one a non-mobile settlement of East Frisians and two generations of descendants, the other a mobile settlement of French Canadians and three generations of descendants.

The differences in economic success of the two communities can be most readily explained by their cultural ingredients, for the two groups settled on land which was approximately equal in proximity to markets and, according to agronomic reports, in fertility of soil. The Frisians arriving more than twenty years later than the French Canadians and taking land which other people had rejected, nevertheless surpassed most farmers of their region in material prosperity. The same contrasts have been seen in other localities, for groups having one set of traditions have prospered more than some of their neighbors with a different background. Such local contrasts have been found to exist independently of the character of soil and topography.

The contrasting forms of social organization represented by these two communities likewise seem to have been largely due to their traditions, for the environments to which they made adjustments were similar. The details of the minor differences will be apparent from a perusal of the text. In general, it may be noted that the East Frisians brought with them from the old world folkways closely akin to those found in the Dutch and Anglo-Saxon groups. Outstanding features of their traditions were love of the homestead and sentimental attachment to the soil and to farming as a vocation. With these traits were linked

a belief in the dignity of work and an opposition to roving. Their attitudes have been preserved through two generations by an efficient community organization. The traditions opposing mobility and the efficient competition for contiguous land enabled families and friends with but few exceptions to live in close proximity. Opposite conditions prevailed in the second community comprised in this study. Here there was less homogeneity and the residents lacked efficient cooperation, especially in securing a sound economic basis. Prior to the settlement of the French Canadians in Illinois their European traditions had been modified by long contact with frontier conditions in Canada, and from the first they were inclined to be restless and mobile.

The character of the social organization here found has also been a factor in regulating the conduct of individuals toward their fellows. Both groups have supplied sentimental attachments between their members, but the first community has offered more practical advantages. It is also less torn by dissensions than the second, and, up to the present, has been able to settle most of its internal disputes. The second group shows less efficiency in corporate action. Here diversification of wealth and vocations has produced factions and has disturbed cooperation and free association. The disparity of wealth in the first group has not been accompanied by such effects. Although there are wide differences in economic status these have not interfered with neighborly reciprocity nor led to rivalry in conspicuous consumption.

Groupal solidarity, in turn, has been a factor in determining the extent to which individuals retain their own culture or, conversely, adopt the customs of the environing population. In both groups here reviewed, disorganization is threatened from the adoption of the competing folkways. With increasing outside contacts individuals are beginning to feel less bound to their local group. While individuals who have fully acquired their ancestral culture feel pride in their background, the younger generations who have not fully assimilated that culture are ashamed of their antecedents and feel the prestige of the behavior ways prevailing in the general public. In the first community, especially, the young people (that is, the grandchildren of the first settlers) are becoming restless under the control imposed by their parental traditions, particularly those which are more restrictive than the

standards found in the general population. Under such circumstances cohesion or integrity of the group can be preserved either by modifying the rules of conduct or by disowning the variant individuals. In meeting this problem the second group has shown more leniency than the first. This contrast is due in part to the character of the respective attitudes and in part to the length of exposure to the urbanizing and deculturizing factors.

While the strains here found are more pronounced than is usually the case in rural communities where the contrast between the local and the environing folkways is not so marked, the processes of change are very much the same in all rural areas. In all, the center of interest is shifting from the rural group and hamlet to other centers of dominance. In former decades the statement of essayists that there was a "place" where each person "belonged" had some point. But at present the displacement of population through competition and general unrest leaves little room for stabilized contentment. Through the newspaper, radio, moving picture, and stage, the rural population is becoming familiar with city themes and models of behavior. The adoption of urban tastes is also hastened by mail order houses, chain stores, and the use of the automobile in frequenting larger centers. Through these and other channels the farm and village population become familiar with art galleries, museums, libraries, universities, statuary, monuments, parks, and boulevards of the city. Similarly the commodities, styles of dress, forms of etiquette, business methods, standards of living, habits of work, leisure-time pursuits, personal relations, family solidarity, and social organization which characterize the city are increasingly copied by the ruralists. The influence of some of these urbanizing influences upon the communities studied has been subjected to measurement, as shown by the statistical tables compiled in the following narratives.

The undermining of local cultures resting upon isolation is likewise portrayed in the subsequent descriptions. One of the best indices of this disruption of rural customs is found in the changing attitudes of the later generations toward such facts as work and leisure, education, matrimony, and parental control. In the first community studied the day's work has successively decreased, on the average, two hours in each of the three gener-

ations Along with these changes there are now appearing new attitudes toward amusements and a lack of interest in the values formerly considered of primary importance New forms of leisure are entering with the use of the automobile, which is taking young people into urban environments where as one discerning grandfather said, "Nobody cares what he is doing" Local bonds are weakening, neighborhood interchanges are waning and contiguous residents are less actively interested in each other's welfare than they were formerly Commodities are not loaned so freely or given without a price Personal relations tend to be commercialized The practices of reciprocal aid are being placed on an urban method of computation For example, farmers are urged to introduce bookkeeping into their exchange of labor

This contest between the traditional and the urbanized rural social organization is portrayed in considerable detail in the two sample community types here reviewed Some of the facts recorded may be due in part to the local cultural antecedents and in part to the rural schematization of life A reliable conclusion as to the part played respectively by these two factors in producing the characteristics of social organization here portrayed, can be made only on the bases of additional detailed studies Such additional studies of community types will also disclose more fully the process of urbanization now well under way and will further serve as historical records against which subsequent changes can be measured More significant, however, is the prospect that extended comparisons of different types of community organization will prove to have practical value in discovering models for deliberate promotion of community cooperation Especially in questions of social organization are paper schemes likely to be futile A critical knowledge of the existing successful types of spontaneous or informal social organization will be conducive to intelligent efforts in the promotion of formal rural social organization

PART II

A Non-mobile, Cooperative
Type of Community:

A Study of the Descendants of
an East Frisian Group

CHAPTER II

REBUILDING ON NEW SOIL

The history of the East Frisian cooperative community comprised in this study has been largely conditioned by its European background. The immigrants who established this settlement came from East Frisia, now a part of the German Republic. The first historical notice of the Frisians is given in the annals of Tacitus. At that time they occupied the coast line near the Ems river. Much of this region is swamp land which was reclaimed from the sea and fenced in by dykes. It was the last refuge of this people who for centuries defended their independence. The threat to let in the sea and drown their foes along with themselves secured for the people of East Frisia at least temporary independence. They are still independent in spirit and have a functioning local government that is a purely representative democracy.

The land wrested from the sea affords a precarious livelihood, for while the soil is fertile, the crop may be destroyed by floods. An additional source of the very meager income is supplied by mining the peat bogs. Though the economic base of these people is precarious, they are tied by strong bonds to their native soil. They have traditions of stability and are averse to roaming. The peasants, in all events, did not move unless forced by disaster to do so. Young men who were physically fit served in the army or navy for a year. Occasionally some sought a livelihood inland or went to sea. Some of these seamen came to America.

The land to which they migrated in Illinois was swampy like that in East Frisia. All the other land in this vicinity had been settled, leaving unclaimed only these "flats," as this area has been called. The first settlers in the "flats" were three Frisians who came here from Adams County, Illinois, in March, 1869. They drove by night over the frozen marshes to their chosen site, a small prominence, which was the only spot in the vicinity not a mire after the thaw. Here they erected a shanty with a lean-to kitchen. After the spring crops were in the families of these men arrived from Adams County. While the men worked in the fields

the women staked out the sites for the new dwellings. The first house constructed in the settlement (aside from the first shanty) was a three-room structure, built entirely by the women. Since it was in the Frisian traditions that women might work in the open, they did so and were happy in helping the common cause of making a home in a new land. By the end of 1870 nineteen families had arrived, all but the original four having come directly from Frisia.

A vast amount of labor went into this land. Much of the draining was done by spade. One of the three remaining original settlers tells how they actually sloped acre after acre toward the ditches they had dug with spades and horse-drawn scoops. They did not mind, however, for here was land that was theirs "by a paper" and no one could take it away. It was more land than a peasant ever aspired to acquire in Frisia, where even front lawns are used for growing vegetables. The rich black soil yielded as none they had ever seen before. No crop was ever lost for any reason whatever. The land always gave the full amount expected. In a few years it was worth many times the price paid for it.

Women worked on the roads, in the fields and in the house. The birth rate was low, apparently not because of any new hardships, but because of their tradition, for other groups in similar circumstances have large families. There were seldom more than three or four children to the family in Frisia. There was, in fact, no unfamiliar hardship in the new land. All were used to hard work and had expected nothing else.

During the first years of the settlement, religious services were held in one of the homes. Later a small building was erected two miles from the site of the first house and a traveling preacher who served two other charges preached and held eucharistic service every six weeks. In 1874, the settlers erected a church building and appointed a resident minister. He served until 1879, when a new pastor was called. Two years later the church tried to discharge him because he had insisted upon having his brother, who was a fugitive from the law somewhere in the East, help him to teach in the parochial school. The congregation divided over this issue, some of the people holding that the pastor could be discharged, the others adhering to the

ecclesiastical tenet that "God calls in and calls out" a pastor and that the congregation may not interfere

This study deals with the separatist portion of the original congregation, comprised, for the most part, of the first arrivals at the settlement and their descendants, a group composed of four generations and including at present eighty-two families (or marriage groups). Among the founders there had not been a single one who had been a landowner in Friesland, though some of the later immigrants had been of a higher economic status.

When once established, the colony grew in size and wealth. By the year 1900, the settlement presented a very prosperous appearance. Fields had been fenced, roads were in good condition most of the year. Many large houses and farm buildings had been erected. In 1900 there were eight "driving" vehicles in the settlement used for light hauling and family use, though "bed" wagons were also used for all occasions, including church-going. En route to church a farmer would pick up the neighbors who had not got out their conveyances. There was still little time for leisure, the generations that were accustomed to hard toil continued to work as they had always done. All-day visits were in vogue among the women and this meant cooking for all the men who belonged to the visiting family. The purpose of these gatherings was usually to sew for the household. Not everyone had a sewing machine, so these meetings were held at homes having this equipment.

The decade 1900 to 1910 produced changes in various respects. The size and contour of the settlement changed by lateral expansion. Farming was done on a larger scale than formerly. Farm machinery was coming into use and there were two tractors, one threshing machine, and two automobiles in the neighborhood. Power washers were increasing in number and the gasoline engine was beginning to displace the use of horses. Nearly all the people were prospering, had well-furnished houses, and were wearing "ready-made" clothing. During this decade the sanitary conditions were improved by substituting artesian wells for cisterns. In one year, three drilled wells were put down by one man and soon every farm had a well of this type.

The decade 1910 to 1920 produced more non-material changes. Many of these were the result of the war. Some of

the families had regularly taken a German paper and thus the settlement was informed of the war situation from that source, as well as by the American press. But Europe was always having some kind of a war and little attention was paid to it until it began to assume large proportions. There was never any perceptible pro-German feeling after the issue had become defined and America had entered the war. Many useless, if not insulting, inspections were made. The people bought Liberty Bonds freely. They trusted the government. They had never meddled with politics and few, if any of them, ever cast a vote in an election, though most of them were naturalized citizens. When the call to arms came an ample proportion volunteered and the others

TABLE I
SIZE OF FARMS OWNED BY FORTY FAMILIES

Size of Farms	Number of Families
29 or less	5
30-59	10
60-89	17
90-119	1
120-149	2
150-179	1
180-209	1
210-239	0
240 and over	3
Total families	40

TABLE II
VALUE OF FARM EQUIPMENT, RATED AT PURCHASE PRICE, OWNED BY FORTY FAMILIES

Value of Farm Equipment	Number of Families
\$ 0-999	0
1000-1499	4
1500-1999	9
2000-2499	3
2500-2999	3
3000-3499	5
3500-3999	8
4000-4499	3
4500-4999	1
5000 and over	4
Total families	40

submitted quietly to the draft. Three from the settlement lost their lives in France. One became insane as a result of recognizing a cousin after running his bayonet through him. He died two years ago in a government hospital. During this time, when many able bodied men had gone to war, the women helped to carry on the work of the farms and the material concerns of life went on as usual. The settlement weathered the war as it did the depression that followed. Not one lost or encumbered his land in consequence of the crisis.

At present the settlement presents a very prosperous appearance, and it is in reality prosperous. The post-war slump has not affected it noticeably. "I do not see what all the fuss is about with this farm-relief business," said one of the smaller farm owners, "I am sure that none of our land is in the hands of the banks, and while we are not making as much money as we did in 1918, we are making as much as we did before that, and more." Another added, "It is not that the farmer has less now than he had before the war, he has more. That is why he is not satisfied to go on slowly and make a decent sum of money. He wants to become wealthy in a season, as it once seemed that he would in 1918."

Cumulation of wealth is a criterion, at least, of a symbiotic adjustment to a new socio-economic environment. A summary of selected items of possession for forty heads of families holding titles to property is given in Tables I-V. These data record

TABLE III
NUMBER OF FAMILIES POSSESSING SPECIFIED
AMOUNT OF CURRENCY AND SECURITIES

Amount of Wealth	Number of Families
\$1499 and less	9
1500-2999	2
3000-4499	7
4500-5999	2
6000-7499	5
7500-8999	6
9000-10,499	1
10,500-11,999	0
12,000-13,499	1
13,500 and over	7
Total families	40

the transition from a penurious settlement to one of the most successful farming sections of the county, as this community is at the present time.

The homes have a prosperous appearance, are spacious, clean and comfortable. The fields and farmsteads indicate thrift and orderliness. The church is equipped with a pipe organ. Only the parochial school presents an air of neglect. The old desks on which the children of the first settlers carved their names are still there. The pastor has given up instructing in the common branches and holds the confirmation school in his home in a large room which has been given over to this purpose. The public school is well-equipped as measured by the standard of country schools.

TABLE IV
NUMBER OF FAMILIES OWNING SPECIFIED
NUMBER OF AUTOMOBILES

Number of Automobiles	Number of Families
0	0
1	18
2	16
3	6
Total families	40

TABLE V
TOTAL NUMBER OF AUTOMOBILES OWNED BY EIGHTY-TWO
FAMILIES AT SPECIFIED YEARS

Year	Number of Automobiles	Year	Number of Automobiles
1909	2	1919	68
1910	3	1920	74
1911	6	1921	80
1912	13	1922	88
1913	21	1923	97
1914	36	1924	108
1915	39	1925	114
1916	43	1926	125
1917	51	1927	132
1918	55	1928	131
		1929	134

CHAPTER III

HOME TIES AND LAND HUNGER

Attachment to the homestead, pride of land ownership, willingness to do hard work, and loyalties to the family were among the pronounced personal and cultural traits transplanted to this settlement. They gave a coloring to the new community, which in these respects resembled the old and supplied a temporary moral union across the intervening spaces. These features are portrayed in the documents quoted below.

Though their sea-hemmed land provided a precarious subsistence, the Frisians had traditions of stable abode. By custom they were not rovers. They never moved except when necessity required it, nor did they travel for pleasure beyond the bounds of their village. Their preference for the familiar village community and fireside reinforced their caution in respect to strangers.

Their attitudes were embodied in traditions, folktales, and folksongs which exercised control over the young and helped to perpetuate the non-mobility which has characterized the new settlement from its earliest days until the present time, when it has begun to change. The following example of these folktales, related by one of the surviving immigrants, reflects this love of the fireside and the distrust of the stranger. In this, as in all documents here set forth, an attempt has been made to preserve in the translation some of the idiomatic form of the original.

One day when all the children were playing out by the ditch they noticed a stranger coming down the road. They immediately deserted their play and scurried into the house. To their dismay he did not pass but came into the yard and knocked. When the father came out to ask him his business the stranger said he was a poor student who had been sent from school and was on his way home. Since it is the custom in Frisia never to turn down any request for food and shelter the boy was admitted into the house and ate with the family. The next morning, the lad, who had made himself extremely agreeable to his host and hostess, asked permission to stay and help the farmer until the money should come from his own family. The hostess was very watchful of her daughter who was promised to a boy in the village, the son of a poor farmer like them-

selves Every night the girl used to start for the home of the boy (for according to Frisian custom the girl visits the boy's house) and the student went about the village for a walk.

One day nearly a half year later, the daughter and the student were missing from the fireside It was soon found that they were nowhere in the village. Since it was winter, the young men of the village streaked over the ice toward Aurich on the frozen canal Nowhere did they encounter the wagon and in the town they found that the couple had not been seen Just as they were about to leave they found the horse and the wagon tied to a post near the road that led away from the canal, but no trace of the pair was found

The years wore on and the incident was talked of over the fires. Twenty years later the woman, now decrepit and worn, was found picking drift wood on the shore Now when little children sit at the windows of a summer evening and look out over the marsh, and when lovers pass arm in arm through the village streets, they point to the phosphorescent lights that roll over the marsh and shudder as they say, 'There is the girl who left her home Those are her eyes burning themselves out trying to see the old people by the fire in her house' And when the winter brings snow and howling winds, the little children are told, 'Hush, and be glad that you are by our fire Do you not hear the crying of the girl who left her home and who wants to come back?'

In view of the aversion for leaving the homestead, inquiry was made as to how immigration had been possible The informant answered, "Well, you see, we had heard a lot of things about the new land from the teacher in the school Then sometimes we got a newspaper which the teacher read to us when we would gather in front of the fire in the winter time. Then the young men who came back from the army were always talking about the new land of America and they said that many people were going there Then some of the young men, instead of just going to sea, started coming to America If a person gave up his land in the old country and moved away he couldn't come back if he didn't like it There would be no place for him"

The attachment to the family and the soil is indicated in the following letters interchanged between a few of the first settlers and their families in the old home The devout religious sense and moral union are disclosed throughout. The method of symbolizing the absence of a member of the family is worthy of note The religious salutation indicates the deep familial sentiments and its omission among European peasants has been found to be associated with family disintegration

Dear Son in America God bless you while you are away from your dear home A cup is always on the table for you when we drink our tea and we look into the flames to see your dear face smiling back at us May God bless you and keep you from harm all the days of your life

We got your letter and it came while school was still open but we could not wait All the neighbors had heard of it and they came running to our fire to hear the letter from our boy So we sent Enje over to get the teacher that he should give them a holiday for the morning Soon the teacher came and then we all wept before we could open the letter, so glad were we to get it and so fearful lest some ill had come to you When we had prayed a while we opened the letter and the piece of blue paper nearly fell into the fire Next time you must stick it tight

There is not much news to tell here Soon Christmas will be coming and the Christ Child will visit the children We will be very happy together because Lena has a nice baby boy It will seem fine to have a baby in the house again after so many years Fritz's little girl is lying now in the church yard since the harvest fever Fritz never talks much any more He says that he wants to go to America but that he will have to go to the army That will leave him nothing at all.

You say that you have all the papers for the land now? Please put them where they will not take them back When they try to take your land you can show them the papers Be sure to take care of them If you have land you are as a king Land is everything One cannot move land away from you and if one has the land by a paper one cannot be made to leave the land

The school teacher says that he has a third cousin who went to America He is settled in Minnesota They have their land by a paper too and when he stands in the door he cannot see his fence He must be a very rich man

God bless you, dear son, for the money you always send I have still some left from the last half year, as the neighbors will not let me buy the milk I have bought a cow and can milk it with their help The cow will be fresh in March Then Annie shall have the calf for herself She can sell it in Aurich and can have for herself a new dress and coat

Two months ago the storm tore the roof so much that it leaked the rain Hans fixed it and when I wanted he should have some of the money you sent from America he said he should not like that So I want you to see if you can send him something from America

Dear son, it is time to stop, as the teacher has several more letters to write before the boat shall go. God bless you and keep you in the new land We pray for you every night and at every meal Your Mother

The second letter quoted has the same theme. It was written in America and sent to the mother in the old country. When the younger son came to America he brought this letter with him.

Dear Parents and all at home. God bless you at home, while we are happy, though heart sick in the new land. I was so happy to get your letter. I am always glad that we could learn to write, though when we were young we were anxious to be men and work in the field. Reading has its place too but it is all English here and I cannot do that. The church is German, though, and it is like going home to go to church. The pastor gets a paper printed in Hamburg and sometimes there is mention of our province. He reads it to us on Sundays.

You need not fear about the land. It is not likely in this country that the land be taken away. The government wants that we shall stay and improve the land. They fear that we will become rich and move to another place. It is not so, however. We have fine crops here. There has not been any bad one since we came. Always it is right for selling, too, and our products are shipped to Chicago. That is a big city like Berlin, I guess, about one hundred twenty miles from here. There are several trains every day. I am going to go there some time when I am old and cannot work so much.

I have not yet taken a wife, dear mother, as there are few women here of our people. I am not so forward with the girls as some, as you know, so I am standing by waiting. I am sending money in this letter in two pieces of paper. The biggest one is for Fritz to come to America. Now I want a very particular thing to be done. Can you make the arrangement with old John for his Lenie? We used to walk down the canal together and if she is not promised I want Fritz to bring her to America and she will be my wife. I will bring her new pans and dishes from the Urbana town and we will build a new house right away when I get your letter. She can have a store bed and curtains for the window and a carpet for the parlor. We will have a parlor. I will buy her also a big lamp with flowers on it. We are burning kerosene and it makes a fine light, much better than candles. She can come here and stay by the neighbors and if she wants to marry some one else she can do that. But if she likes me and thinks I am the man for her, I shall be very glad to have a wife for myself.

"I now have one hundred acres of land by a paper and it is all mine. Some of it is still full of water but we are working fast to get the ditches all in. The land is so low that it must be sloped off to the ditch from the middle. That is much work and if I have someone in the house for the chores it will not be long until we can be having a real home place here. We hope that some day we will feel here just like we did at home but it seems a long time to wait. In

many ways it is more comfortable here. One is never sick, as these marshes are not formed by the sea. It is not crowded at all. We are making more money than we ever saw before.

If Fritz wants to bring himself a wife also there is enough money for all in the paper I sent. It is good if he should do that, because a man needs a home in this big land. He knows how to come. When he gets to New York there will be someone who will put him on the right train. He will come to Chicago and then to Rantoul. We will get them there in the wagon. My only regret is that you cannot come. Never fear, though, you have the daughters and we will always send the money. You must not feel so far away. We are close to you in our prayers at night and always at the table.

When I am plowing I can shut my eyes and smell the dear land under me and say it is mine, mine, all mine. No one can take it away. I am king as you said. Then the tears come for my dear father and mother far back home. Maybe at the end of ten years we can visit home.

Now I must stop dear mother before the tears of home love wash the letter clean. God bless you in the dear home so far away. I am waiting anxiously for your letter. Again God bless you dear parents, neighbors, friends. Your son and neighbor, Jacob.

The letters quoted, like others collected, disclose deeply rooted attitudes of family solidarity and craving for the security to be derived from ownership. The people living for generations in the same spot came to regard in a personal, intimate way the land they tilled. The transplanted attitudes are reflected in the success and social organization of the settlement under review.

In a new country, where land could be secured for the labor previously given to landlords, the land hunger of the Frisians found means of satisfaction. When they got land they kept it. This attitude was woven into their life organization, and became, as it were, a part of themselves. The worst thing a man can do, in the estimate of this group, is to sell his land. During the slump that came in 1922 it was hard for some of the men to keep from mortgaging land but they managed not to do it. When asked how they avoided a mortgage, one said, "Well, when you once let someone else get a paper on you, it is easy to lose the land. It is better to save money in some other way. We can live without town supplies for the table, we can wear old clothes, we can get along. It is the worst thing to get a paper on your land. We and our fathers worked so hard to get this land that we must keep it. Then we would have no homes if we got papers on the

land Town people are sick Before we knew it they would have our land "

Their spirit of independence and habituation to hard work, when transplanted to the New World, bore rich results in prosperity. One of the surviving immigrants related

We used to work early and late and all day long The young people now think they are dead if they have to work during harvest more than twelve hours We never thought of anything else but work Life was hard in the old country and not much easier when we got here Do you see that land over there that slopes toward the ditch? We took teams and scooped that land in toward the middle Then we widened and deepened that ditch by using shovels and hoisting the dirt up out of there and hauling it out into the road

An old lady, reporting through an interpreter, said.

You see hard work never hurt me I am eighty-seven this month and feel fine My folks were like all the rest of the people There were four of us children I don't think large families were frequent Of course I always worked in the field in the old country from the time I was able to I still helped in the field here until six years ago when they made me stop I like it I would like to do it yet You get lots of fresh air and if you don't try to do more than you can stand, you can last to work again tomorrow That's the way I look at it We didn't go every day into the field We had to wash and iron, churn, milk, make cheese, grind meal, take care of the chickens and sew for all the family We just worked in the fields when they needed help

CHAPTER IV

NEIGHBORHOOD COOPERATION

In a well organized social group, the products of labor are a means to a corporate end—the security of the kinship or other mutual aid group and thus of the individual as a member of this group. As previous examples have shown, the culture under review prescribed a considerable sense of responsibility for the welfare of neighbors. In the new settlement this moral union at first extended to the entire colony but later was restricted especially to the smaller group comprised in the name “our congregation.” This social unit is thus a primary group in the sense that it is intimate and cooperative, and is the chief agent in the socialization and control of the individuals involved.¹

In the larger impersonal society conduct is individuated in the sense that each is concerned more exclusively with his own interests. There is a definite line between “mine” and “thine” and every bit of service or commodity given implies a return, excepting in acts of “charity,” which describe aid in impersonal, not in primary, social relations. Men do not hesitate to make ladders of the lives of other men, the battle for supremacy is hard and the spoils of the game belong to the victor, whatever may be the price to others. In the primary group, on the other hand, one’s fellows, typically, are not the means to an end; they are persons whose rights and comfort are to be considered as much as one’s own.

This distinction between personal and impersonalized dealings is illustrated by the difference between the business dealings between the members of this community as compared with the dealings with outsiders. When money or other commodity is loaned to a member of the group no interest is charged. Profits are foregone and transactions are made on a mutual aid rather than on a bargain-driving basis.

Mr. A. was about to sell a cow to a stranger in town, at a price of one hundred and fifty dollars. But when he learned

¹Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization*. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1922, pp. 23-24.

that Mr B might want to buy the cow Mr A notified the prospective purchaser that he could not have her and instead sold her to Mr B for one hundred dollars

Mr R has no children and his nephews have all the land they need He owned eighty acres near the edge of the settlement for which he was offered \$175 per acre by an outsider He took some time to consider the offer and in the meantime learned that Mr T, a member of the congregation, wanted some land for his son Mr R sold the land to Mr T for \$125 an acre

For several years these farmers had been advised by the manager of an elevator company to keep an account of their labor for each other This year they decided to try keeping such records and called a meeting for the purpose of settling balances After the checks had been made to equalize accounts, one of the audience said "Well, neighbors, I never thought we'd come to this! Pretty soon I'll be paying my neighbors to give me a lift into town and the frau will be buying a shoot off the geranium plant No sir, it's nonsense The elevators can keep accounts if they want to, but we are neighbors and not in business with each other" All gave hearty assent, destroyed their checks, shook hands and moved toward the cars parked in the lane

About 1902 a commercial telephone line was built in this vicinity In a few years it was bankrupted and the property deteriorated Some of the men from the settlement formed a company and gave each member a portion of the line to repair, installed instruments and assigned a small annual rental One vote was given each member of the company, irrespective of the number of shares of stock he owned If families find it difficult to pay the rental, they are exempted from payment but are not deprived of the use of the phone All of the eighty-two families have the use of the phone

The equipment bought by one person is placed at the services of all members of the group Things may be "borrowed" from the store in the sense that a debtor relation is incurred, but no such specific obligation is implied in these neighborly exchanges The obligation or debtorship incurred is felt to be to the whole group, which assumes responsibility for the welfare of its members Lending is regarded as a matter of course, as it is between family members In this neighborhood there are as yet only four

persons who have trucks for hauling, but members of the congregation have no hesitancy in asking for the loan of these machines. Mr. R. had just purchased a new car, keeping his old one, which was still in good repair, for rougher use. Mr. T. asked the use of Mr. R.'s old car. But Mr. R. insisted on lending the new one, stating that if his new car was too good for his neighbors he did not see much use in having it.

When someone wants to shell corn he goes to the phone, gives the line call, announces the fact to all and receives the offer of help. When someone wants any article from town but does not find it convenient to go, he gives the line call, and asks if anyone is going to town. There is sure to be someone going and instruction is given. The goods are purchased and delivered to the house, even though it may be out of the way to do so. When someone wants to go to town and the family car is in use or the individual desiring to go does not drive a car, he simply inquires over the phone if anyone is going and it is usually not long until he gets a reply that he is welcome to "ride along."

A loss to one is considered a loss to all. Consequently all are concerned at its repairment, as will be seen by the following examples. Mrs. P. had lost all her spring chicks, due to a fire in the brooder house. Several mornings later, when she went to do her chores, she found the shed full of chickens of a different breed supplied by her neighbors. She did not feel as if she were accepting charity, she took it as an expression of the good will of her neighbors and she knew that she would in some way repay them or other neighbors for their help.

Mr. K. lost all his four cows when a wind storm buried them under the straw stack. His farm was small and the earnings were not sufficient to permit of a purchase of four cows at once. He bought two cows at a neighborly price. One day when he returned from church, he found two heifers in his lot. He had an idea to whom they belonged, and thought that they might have been lost. When he telephoned his neighbors, everyone professed to know nothing about these cattle. He then understood, and made a public statement of thanks to those who did the good deed. This seems a rather casual way to receive a gift worth a hundred dollars, but a child says no more than that for his benefits received from his parents. Mr. K. knows that he

to repay the donor by helping someone else whose need is greater than his own

Such practices indicate a solidary social group. When a person is sick or in trouble this is regarded as a matter of community concern. An announcement of sickness promptly brings whatever help is needed. Mr. M. B. was ill for eighteen months during this time his farm of one hundred and ten acres was managed entirely by the freely given labor of his neighbors. His fields were plowed, his crops put in and harvests gathered as efficiently as were those on any other farm in the community. The house is cared for in the same way. Mr. M. B. is recovering, the doctor says, due to the fact that he had time to stay in bed and receive the care he needed over a long enough period to effect a cure.

Mrs. T. has been critically sick of cancer for ten months. It is known that she can never recover. Her family of young children is being kept together by the neighbors, who take turns in spending the day with her. Sometimes older girls go for most of the day and do the work and look after the mother and children. Neighbors canned her fruit this summer and did all routine work. They will continue to care for her until death releases her from pain. Some of these neighbors are relatives, it is true, but they are not in attendance any more than are others of the congregation.

In the neighborhood there is an old bachelor who provides a home for a feeble-minded lad. Since the man is sick most of the time and able to be out only in good weather and to do light tasks, his neighbors help him farm twenty acres. The women in the settlement clean his house as often as necessary, sew, mend and wash for him and the lad who lives with him. The man never lacks for cheer. His neighbors visit him often and pass the evening playing rook and talking over old times. At Christmas time he remembers all of the children in the church with some small gifts that he has made during the year.

The sense of obligation thus precludes the giving of charity as a form of aid. Indeed there can be no such thing as "charity" in a primary group, so long as it retains this intimate organization. Members accept help in one way or another as a right, not as charity. In so doing this group has approached the ideals at

which modern relief systems are aiming. In this as in other well-ordered primary groups dependency does not result in pauperism, but in an effort to prove worthy of the help given by becoming self-supporting as soon as possible. This may be seen by their treatment of the following cases.

One boy in the group had been crippled by infantile paralysis and was unable to follow the traditional occupation of farming. A meeting was held in the church to discuss his condition and it was decided to establish him in a small store in the trading village. Accordingly, a store building was selected and the neighbors cleaned and painted the building. The father financed the business and the people patronize the store. They take all of their products there and sell to him for less than they could obtain by selling elsewhere.

One young woman married an outsider against the advice of the group. The man was known to be a shiftless fellow who had worked on the railroad. Although he was of German origin he was not a Frisian. After their marriage, he rented a forty-acre strip from one of the men in the colony. No one called on the members of this family, but neighbors anticipating their wants anonymously supplied coal, wood, and groceries and sent shoes and clothing to the children.

The husband deserted just after the fourth child was born. There were some notes due at the bank and he was greatly in debt. The neighbors then stepped in. The wife and children were taken home by one family until permanent arrangements for them could be made. A man, who had retired from active farming, had a vacant six-room house in the village. He offered to give the house rent-free for as many years as it was needed, if the people would repair it. Accordingly it was not only painted and repaired but also papered and amply furnished, and the woman and her family were moved into it.

The woman told the neighbors that she wanted to take in washings and earn part of the cost but they would not hear of it. They told her it was much more her Christian duty to stay at home and to raise the children and teach them to do right. The woman relates

I was about the most unhappy woman in the world after it all turned out the way it did. They moved us to the village and we

lived there fourteen years. In all that time we never wanted for anything that it was right for us to have. When we got there everything was ready. In the house was the nicest furniture I had ever seen and everything was clean. The drawers were stocked with new sheets and towels and everything like that in them. There were dishes in the cupboard and the pantry and cellar were filled with food of all kinds, canned fruits and vegetables, jam and jelly, pickles, potatoes, meat fried down, everything one could need or want. For awhile they brought me a gallon of milk every day but in the summer they gave me a cow, as there was plenty of free pasture and the boys could take the cow over and bring it home. They gave me chickens and I sold eggs, besides having all we needed. They clothed the children and me. When they would meet to sew they made the clothes for us and they sent for things from the mail order houses. When the boy there was big enough, he worked for the people in the summer time. I wanted him to do it for nothing but they paid him and put it in the bank for him because they said he might need it when he grew up. They had already paid off all the debts my husband had made. It was over six hundred dollars. I never knew who did that.

When Rolf (my oldest son) was eighteen they heard of a store in Iowa that had been for sale. Mr. R. went out to see about it and came back and said that it was the thing for us. So they sent Rolf out there and gave him the money to start out with. He made it pay and then sent for us and we were moved out there. Rolf then became connected with the elevator there and I baked pies for a restaurant and the other children worked for me and went to school. Annie went to business college and then she got a job in the bank. Rolf has wanted to pay back the money for my husband's debts but no one will tell us who paid them. It was the same about all the help we got. No one knows anything about it. The children are all getting along. The youngest is in high school and he says he wants to be an electrical engineer. We are trying to get ready to send him to the university and I think we can do it as he can get a job and help himself too. Yes, if you have lived away in a city all your life you have never known what a neighbor is nor what it means to have neighbors like we had. We owe our lives to them. That is why I tell the young people out here who are beginning to be ashamed of their folks that they ought to be glad they live in a place like this.

The intimate relations and sense of responsibility carry with them the fact that the doings of each are a concern to the others. Things which otherwise might be trivial thus become objects of conversation. The telephone system which enters these eighty-two homes and no others aids in this sharing of interests and

dispensing of information "I heard over the phone that Haim sold his corn," or "I heard over the phone that Ed's folks are coming to your house Sunday" The daily commonplaces are of interest to the neighbors and no one thinks of resenting it. Everyone's ring is known to everyone else. Even the children know the rings before they go to school. In families where there are enough members to make it possible, someone is usually stationed at the phone. Some of the younger set arrange to converse over the phone at set times without giving the ring. No one thinks of resenting or even taking into account the fact that others are listening to the conversation. When the ring is too weak to extend to the party called, one is always sure of help; someone who is nearer will repeat the call and wait for the answer. Special church meetings are announced over the telephone. The "line ring" is six long rings and when this signal comes everybody goes to the telephones and the announcement is given.

Very few families have moved out of the settlement, but when this has occurred, the support and mutual aid of this primary group have been shown in additional ways. The B family was planning to move to a new place about twenty miles away. During the entire period of a half year prior to the impending move everyone talked about it. The women contributed some pieces of hand work to the new home. Everyone seemed to be depressed by the thought that the next Christmas the B family would not be with them. When the time came for the move, the neighbors had already made several trips to the new place. They had painted, papered, and repaired the house and improved the subsidiary buildings without any thought of personal repayment. The family was moved in trucks belonging to the neighbors, and several of the young people went along for a few days to see them settled in the new home.

The S family decided to go to a town twenty-five miles away and take over the management of a grain elevator. Mr. S was criticised for moving his family among strangers. Mrs. S could hardly reconcile herself to the fact of leaving her neighbors. Every time the departure was mentioned she wept. The neighbors moved the furniture, several of them going ahead to help

in redecorating the house and preparing it for occupancy. The following letter, written by Mrs. S. soon after the family had moved, throws light on the significance of participation in a social group.

Dear Neighbors: This letter is for all of you and you can read it over the phone if you want to do it before Sunday. You have no idea how lonesome it is here. The people are nice to me but I cannot go to the door because my face is so red from crying. The house is very nice but I could come back and live in the barn among the dear neighbors and then I should be much happier. Never do I hear the dear language except when the children talk to me. John is never at home, as there is so much to be done and we cannot afford to have any help yet until the business begins to come in. That will be after corn shelling and that is a long time to wait.

Johnny started to school. He had to go back to the first grade because he is so bashful that he did not read. The teacher came to see me and she is very nice.

Well, dear neighbors, when are you coming to see me? I live for that time. It is like a wilderness here. John wants that I should go to church so I am going to go this Sunday. He bought me a store dress the other day because he says that town people have to look like that. The church is English. I do not understand that so well but if it is the word of God I am lucky to find even that so far away from my dear home.

So strong is the feeling of identification that all dislike anything which savors of social differentiation. The pastor relates, "There had never been a choir in the church and I thought it a good thing to have one. No one came to the meeting that I announced for the purpose. They do not want to step out ahead of any of the others and thus no choir has ever been formed in the church.

"One time the death of a member necessitated the electing of a trustee to fill his place. Every eligible man was named before I succeeded in getting the lists closed. The one elected won by a margin of four votes. He was very apologetic as he stepped out and faced his neighbors. He begged them not to think that he had put himself forward, that he was simply there to do as the Lord asked him."

These are examples of the attitudes and action of a primary group. The old religious idea of "saving a soul" takes on social meaning in a primary social organization. The phrase may be interpreted from the standpoint of the person's place in the group.

and of the protection of the personality against disorganization. By this means the individual continues to act as a person in his obligations toward others. To be sure, these intimate loyalties extend to a limited group. But this is true of all peoples. In a mobile population such obligations are usually restricted to the family or even the immediate marriage group.

CHAPTER V

RELATIONS WITH OUTSIDERS

Dealings with outsiders lack the cordiality and freedom which characterize the relations between group members. Variations in these responses form an objective criterion of the degree of strangeness or, obversely, of intimacy. Because these responses have considerable permanency, we may assume the existence of "attitudes." These differential responses and attitudes may be noted with reference to pastors, tenants, servants, teachers, and trades people.

All the pastors of this congregation have been non-Frisian in training, and for this as well as other reasons have been in, but not of, the group. Since the clergyman and his family have been differentiated from the rest of the community they have been immune from some of its regulations. His children dance in their home and the congregation consider it to be the pastor's business solely. His daughters bobbed their hair as soon as the mode began. His children have usually acquired higher education. In both respects they led their parishioners by a period of several years. When the members of his family come into the church they scatter throughout the congregation and rotate or change their seats on successive Sundays in order not to seem aloof or partial. Although the pastor is conceded to be on a plane above the members of his congregation he is very careful to appear never to notice this fact. He is indeed a caretaker and leader of his flock. He never tries to use his own authority in going against a custom in the group, but is allowed a voice when no one else would be heard.

There is but one non-Frisian tenant family in the district. When they came to the community they lived in a house occupied by a former member of the congregation. After they had been there a few days the telephone was taken out, the only explanation given being that no one but stockholders had phones and there were no more shares to be had. This misrepresentation of facts is readily understood as an attempt to maintain solidarity. No instances of misrepresentations in neighborhood relations

could be found. It is evident that only members share in the intimate life of the group. However these newcomers were well treated. Visits were made to get acquainted and the ordinary amenities were shown gradually. The children, who first were left out of the play group at school, soon mastered the language and now associate freely with the other children.

Thus besides the regular means of entering the group by birth, members may be assimilated into it. Only a few have been completely absorbed into the flats settlement by the second of these methods. Two cases of marriage into the group will be noted. One of these is the case of a Swedish woman who had come into a home to care for the wife during a long and fatal illness. After three years the widower married the housekeeper. The community approved of this marriage. The second wife has in every way been taken into the life of the group, though references are still made to the fact that this family is different from others. One child of this second marriage, a member of the third generation, and now a man with a family says "I don't know whether it is just my imagination or not, but I have always seen some difference in the actions of my neighbors toward us. I have never known any other ways than the ways of the people here, and I do not feel strange or out of place. The children at school once told me that I was not really German at all—that my mother was a Swede, and I have always remembered that. It made no difference in their treatment of me, but I have never forgotten it."

The other case is that of a school teacher who married a widower. He was considerably demoralized as evidenced by drunkenness and neglect of his children. He was virtually cast off by the congregation, though he was still conceded formal connection with the church. The teacher effected a reformation in the man and their marriage was regarded with favor by the community. The wife is completely accepted and many comments are heard as to the way she has improved the home that was once nearly wicked. The group controls had failed, and when the methods of the stranger succeeded, she was accepted. Aside from those cases and the one discussed in the preceding chapter there have been no other marriages with non-Frisians in this congregation.

Another class of outsiders who may remain for a longer or shorter time is the teachers. Since it has not been in the traditions to foster higher education, teachers cannot be supplied locally, they must be sent in from the outside. These come with attitudes which are fixed in advance by prevailing aversions for unfamiliar cultures.

Suspicion on each side fosters attitudes of caution. The Frisians stay largely to themselves as do other people, their language is not understood even by other Germans, they are unobtrusive, and work thriftily on civil holidays but not on church holidays. They are never seen at Farm Bureau meetings. Some of them wear old-fashioned clothes. They do not come to the polls to vote. But in most of these respects they do not differ from other people. For example, non-voting is widespread, but this neglect is generally thought of as an individual trait, since it is not associated with some other trait that has already been made into a symbol of a distinctive social group. The same may be said about the other items. It is only because these ways are made into symbols of a social group that they are felt to be significant.

At some points of contacts between the two cultures, friction may arise, especially in respect to conduct not reduced to a contractual relation. Rules made by outsiders without regard for the traditions and values of the local group are ill-adapted to local needs. Some materials for the schoolroom such as colored pencils, seem to be irrelevant, for children are sent to school to work rather than to play. Because the teacher knows only English she cannot understand the speech of the beginners and they cannot understand hers, in so far as only the Frisian dialect is spoken in the children's homes. The new teacher, who is usually a beginner, may be given orders to forbid the use of the home language on the school grounds. A clash between unlike folkways follows. In rare cases, the militant teacher may seem to carry her point for a time. The home dialect is not spoken, at least not above a whisper, on the school grounds, but neither is English spoken. In such instances no amount of coaxing will start games or cause any participation whatever.

Narratives of teachers' experiences illustrate this personalized clash of cultures. One writes

Just before I started to teach, the county superintendent told

me that I was going into a very difficult school. His first commandment was to insist upon the English language at school at all times, and within a month after school started the children were to be examined by an official from the office to see that they knew the important patriotic songs, the 'Creed of an American' and the preamble to the Constitution. The children from the third grade on were to know Lincoln's 'Gettysburg Address'. Since this was my first school, I thought it possible. I went early to the schoolhouse that first morning. It was immaculate.

I lived at the home of Mrs. X as all the teachers had done since the founding of the school. Country life and its inconveniences were not new to me and I liked the beautiful hospitality that I found here. I was so busy organizing the school and trying to get my beginners lined up that I did nothing about the superintendent's commands. I decided that I needed the help of the older children in understanding the youngest pupils. I saw that if I forbade the children to use their vernacular I could never get at them in any way. However, after I started teaching the children to read, I became independent of this help in school. The older children helped the little ones at home and they were soon telling me things in fragmentary English. I thought I could get along this way, introducing the flag ceremonies as part of the opening exercises, teaching American patriotic songs among others, and so on, but the school office would have none of that. I must fill them full of Americanism to the bitter end. I must make them love America by coercion. So I began.

The change in action toward me was not long in coming. Mrs. X began to leave me to myself more. I was treated very politely. After the meal the members of the family left for other parts of the house or farm. I had nothing to do but go to my room. I went down for supper and breakfast. The family became more and more polite. One day I came home from school to find a stove in my room, with a good fire. On top the stove was a bucket of water and on the stand a wash bowl. That meant that I was to do all but eat in my room. I did.

At school the children, who had been 'crazy' about me, stayed in little knots, staring silently, and whispering to each other. They were never troublesome in school. One morning when I got down to breakfast, the family had finished, and the table was nicely set with one place service. That day I dismissed school early and carried my resignation to the secretary of the board. I told him that I was heartbroken. He told me that they were good Americans without all the flag talk.

This was about Christmas time. A few mornings later I was surprised to find a package of three letters of recommendation in the mail—one written by each of the school directors. In three weeks I had found another school. A further surprise awaited me at the

end of the month when a check for three weeks salary was sent me to cover the time of idleness!

This narrative shows the effect of carrying into a personal situation attitudes conceived in a formalistic sense of strangeness. The first tendency of forceful coercion in the teacher gave way to a feeling of personal appreciation. The all-or-none principle of the official however disrupted the process of reciprocal assimilation. The official attitude offended the self-respect of the group. The manner in which the teacher's changed relation was indicated is significant. The hostess's actions symbolized the group's awakened sense of self-respect protesting against unjust imputations. When asked why the teacher had resigned, a board member said "The children do not like anything that the parents don't want them to like. This teacher was insulting us and making it seem we were not good citizens and that we were ignorant."

This superintendent used the false method of deculturization policy practiced by European monarchs, in attempting to change things in ways which are incompatible with their essential nature. He proceeded by negation rather than by substitution. Thus he failed to achieve his purpose because, as John Dewey once said, in order to teach any new thing successfully, one must not run counter to the emotional set of the individual or group to whom it is offered.

A similar mistake was made by another teacher, who though she managed to keep school till the end of the term, was tactless from the beginning. She had no appreciation of the significance of social groups with their distinctive folkways, as is shown by the account of her experience in the community. She wrote

I was full of notions about educating the parents through the children, and I came out here with a condescending attitude toward the farm population in general and unfamiliar customs in particular. Life has taught me a lot since. I started the thing by trying to organize a parent-teachers club. When I issued invitations to the parents they all came, thinking something was wrong at the school. The idea did not go over. They heartily disapproved of using the school for any but the school purposes and programs at Christmas and a box social in the fall. After about six weeks the parents began expressing wonder at the fact that the first graders did not know their letters

However, when the children were actually demonstrating their ability to read by sound and by sight, the parents said it was all right. Even so, they saw to it that they were taught letters at home.

Most trouble came when I insisted upon organizing the play group and saw no sense in segregating the boys and girls on the school ground. They all walked home together and played together outside of school, so I saw no reason why they should not be put together on the playgrounds, and said that it was time the people were waking up, for other schools did not segregate the children. Things drifted on, however, till the end of the term. I never visited among the people. I tried to change the children's table manners by talking about the subject at school and telling them they should teach others not to eat with a knife. All the time I was there I was half angry and wholly defiant in attitude. I never conceded that I was wrong.

This letter is expressive of a familiar attitude, for the fact of ethnocentrism is universal. Barring cases where prestige obviously enters, the ways of an individual's set, class, or group, are preferred to any others. There seem to be but few exceptions to this, whether in savage or in modern life. This sentiment is represented in organized form as chauvinism and the disregard for other folkways. Various tribes designate themselves by words meaning 'men', other groups are placed lower in the animal scale. The fact that others are different is felt to imply that they are inferior.

"I guess," writes one former teacher, "that I did not mind my own business. I was anxious to make an impression upon the county superintendent because I was under the impression that his recommendation had more weight than the judgment of the local board members who because of their little education could have no idea of what good teaching was. That was where I was fooled. They did not seem to care so much how or what the children learned as they did how the teachers acted in the district. I had to watch my step as I had never thought it necessary to do before."

The attitudes toward those outsiders who are in the group are obviously distinct. As long as the contractual relation with members of the community is maintained the social machinery runs smoothly. However when the rôle assigned is not maintained, friction is likely to arise. The teacher, for example, enters the group in a formal capacity. Her niche is carved for her. The

school is an accepted institution and the teacher, as long as her behavior is confined to her appropriate function, is not patently a disturbing factor, any more than the automobile salesman or the chicken buyer who comes out from town. However, if the auto salesman should start to rebuild the garage, or the chicken peddler should insist upon carrying the hen house to the front yard, their performance would be felt to be incompatible with their ostensible rôle.

Various contacts with the outside world are necessitated by business. These dealings are formal and contractual, as is true of the competitive world generally. Toward strangers the attitude prevails that "business is business," and that it is best to exclude all personal obligations. In dealing with outsiders the Frisians ask and receive the market price, while in group dealings prices are largely determined by the individual's needs and economic status. Almost all market purchases are paid for in cash at the time of delivery. The Frisians avoid incurring debts and dislike credit purchases. If, in an emergency, such a credit transaction is essential, they speak of it as borrowing. For example, one of the community stated "I forgot to take enough money along today so I had to borrow some gas at the station." This expression is regularly used to describe a "charge account." It is not the translation of an idiom from the home language, but is expressive of the attitude toward business dealing. To buy is to receive in exchange for payment, otherwise, the article is "borrowed." This, in general, is the attitude of the older members of the group.

Deferred payments for luxuries have not hitherto been indulged in at all, and other credit purchases are very recent. Automobiles are paid for by cash when purchased, as are radios, pianos, and furniture. The first man to buy a piece of farm machinery on the payment plan was severely censured. That was in 1924 and he was one of the third generation. Since then there have been five tractors, three binders, and a small amount of other farm machinery bought on the payment plan. In no case has the New Year found any member of this group in debt to an outsider. When this seems about to happen, the neighbors advance the money to discharge the obligation. It is in the traditions of the group that the New Year shall be started

CHAPTER VI

GROUP ORGANIZATION

Social organization may be thought of as a system of established practices which direct or regularize the conduct incidental to living together. These collective practices which differentiate one people from others, although sometimes regarded as "peculiar" or "backward" by those outside, tend to be laden with positive values to the group. In this study the language, church and folkways are especially important in solidifying the relations between the individuals and in exercising control over them.

The East Frisian language is a carrier of traditions and differentiates these people from the environing cultures in America as it had done in the old world. This language is one of the Low German dialects. Because its use is restricted to one province, it serves to differentiate this people from other Germans in Illinois almost as much as from English speaking neighbors. When asked concerning High German neighbors, one of our informants replied "Oh, yes, I guess they a're German, but they might as well be French. They do not belong to us—they speak a different language. We are from Frisia and our language is different."

Although their language had served as a bond of unity to these people for three generations, its use is gradually subsiding. This fact had been noted before the World War. The English language was spoken at the English school and was the language of business, where increased contacts rendered the home language useless. The Frisians were thus becoming gradually identified with their new environment. There is no evidence that they thought of themselves as anything but Americans until suspicion rested upon them during the war. Their conduct was above reproach even from the standpoint of a war psychosis. They answered the draft, volunteered for service, bought Liberty Bonds, did their part in every drive for loans and for Red Cross work. However, in the course of the war attention was called to their native language. They were held in suspicion and put under surveillance. Even the use of their own language in their homes

was regarded with hostility. Under these conditions their language became a symbol of self-respect. People who had begun to speak English among themselves reverted to the mother language and even the men who had entirely abandoned its use on the street again spoke it in the towns, where they went to trade.

A similar reaction was found in the use of the English language at school. Previous to these incidents the public school had been accepted as meaning English speech. The group had grown used to the public school and had fitted it into a definite place in their relation with the environing population. The past was receding quite unobtrusively. A person who taught this rural school during 1910-1914 said that many of the children spoke English when they first came to school. Nothing was ever said about their speaking one language or the other and they seemed to expect to speak English at school. In 1916 when this same teacher came to finish the term remaining after the resignation of another teacher, she noted that children at play spoke German. This reaction was due to the effort to save self-respect in the face of the unjust attack and the offense to their integrity and loyalty. When adverse attention was called to their vernacular, they defended their status by the same methods that have been used in many other similar situations.

Another group symbol, serving as a means of organization, is the church. The term "our congregation" is a more frequent mark of identification than the language, for it is a smaller division of the language group and a still more intimate label of group identification. A division dating from 1880 made two congregations of the language group. This division is not discernible in the functioning of the group when viewed from the outside. It is an internal differentiation. When any issue is at stake which concerns the group, inclusive of the two congregations, action is taken by the two groups jointly. But the "congregation" is the center and circumference of many activities which are carried on in common. It constitutes what C. H. Cooley called a "primary group."

The church here has little importance as an organ of the theological doctrine, it is rather a focal point of organization and control, its regulative functions in many ways surpassing those of the family. The pastor finds it unnecessary and un-

profitable to raise doctrinal points in his sermons because the people are not interested in the theological disputes. He confines his sermons to the things in which the people are interested: their prosperity, sickness and health, the land and its products, the blessings of God. He has learned, too, to chastise the people for their sins and lapses in daily living. They expect the church to comfort them in trouble, to exhort them in their indifference, to point out the sources of their happiness and prosperity. It blesses them in marriage, congratulates them in birth, receives their dust into its keeping when the last acre has been plowed and the patient soul has left the family fireside.

The church, then, is a social institution and as such is a carrier of culture and a means of control. It is said by some students that the best functioning churches everywhere are approaching this rôle in attempting to organize community life. In this church all important problems in regard to the community are discussed. The purchase of the first automobile was the occasion for an accounting from its owner. He was made to show that he had not mortgaged his land in order to buy the car. He was warned to use it in the right way and the action was condoned. In this manner the church functions directly as an agent for appraising relative values.

Hitherto it was the gateway by which all overt changes entered. This does not mean that it is accountable for the change in folkways, for changes occur in spite of it. During most of the history of this community, the church has regulated the form of dress on some ceremonial occasions, especially at confirmation, concerning which controversies sometimes arose. In 1918 the girls had decided to depart from the traditional black garb and to wear white. The notion was opposed by the elders, but white dresses were worn at confirmation. At the present time many types and colors of dresses are worn for this ceremony and no comment is heard except surmises as to the cost of the ensemble. The church stood against bobbed hair for several years. Finally the problem was solved in a natural way. As children grew up they retained the childish practice, thus introducing the style unobtrusively.

The children study their catechism about the kitchen table after the evening's work is done, the housewife translating the

High German of the church into the home language so that the children may understand the words of the book. When the English language was introduced into the confirmation services, the older people said it did not seem like church anymore.

A third means of group identification and unity is afforded by the folkways—the seemingly casual, uniform ways of doing things which characterize a people. Folkways are noted in all aspects of life. Several distinctive folkways in the home economy of the East Frisians are apparent. For example, the method of preparing food is a behavior way brought down from the past. Among these people the setting of the table, the prevailing manner of cooking (oven-browned dishes) and the arrangement of utensils are distinctive features of their common life. Another item of this home economy is the use of the back door as the place of entrance by all comers. The arrangement of all of the houses in the settlement makes this the most convenient way to enter, since the back door faces the lane and a walk leads through the gate to the back door. Although custom in East Friesland prescribes a front door, it does not prescribe the path or walk leading to it. In the old country a garden is planted over the whole space in front of the house. Here the yard is not so used, but the culture item is otherwise much the same, for the front door is seldom used for anything except as a means of getting out to scrub the porches and wash the windows. The “parlor” is used only on rare occasions but always at Christmas and on the Sundays when the minister comes to dinner.

Another interesting custom is the possession of a “hope chest” or bridal room, a space allotted to the girls of the house for storing their future household equipment. Either a compartment in the gable of the house, as in the old country, or a room (often a front room on the ground floor) may be reserved for this purpose. Here girls of the family place the dishes and linen which are given them as Christmas presents as early as their eighth year. Later, larger pieces of equipment such as sideboards, dressers, and chairs are added by the family. Except in cases where there is a large family on the husband’s side and there are no boys on the wife’s side of the family, the husband’s family furnishes the house, the land, the kitchen stove, beds, and other prescribed items, at the time of marriage.

Culture items such as the division of labor in the home and other aspects of family life, ceremonials, and proverbs, may also be noted as folkways which give predictability to conduct and help to integrate the ways of each individual with those of others.

Customs concerning the division of labor in the home have been inherited from the past. Women do not milk, churn, separate milk when the separator is run by hand, nor carry in the coal. They do take care of the chickens as a matter of course, even on occasions when the men are idle. During house cleaning, nothing save heavy lifting is done by the men. The women do the papering, painting, and cutting and laying the linoleum. They may also paint the house or help in husking corn, but they never go to the elevator with a load of corn, oats, or wheat. However these traditional assignments of duties are showing conformity to the vicinal folkways.

A high degree of mutuality and cooperation exists between the husband and wife. When there is an important question to be settled the wife is consulted about it and especially when the issue is of any interest to her. The remodeling of houses, for example, is distinctly controlled by her preferences. It is customary for the women in this community to have charge of their own spending money and to control the returns from the produce sold. Though their money is largely kept for their own use, it is always on call if needed. Expenditures for textbooks and other school equipment usually come out of this fund.

Between members of the family, as well as between friends, demonstrations of affection are considered in poor taste. Between friends long absent the usual form of greeting is merely a handshake. The person has simply come home and the thing they want most is to hear him talk. Babies are cared for without any fuss whatever. They are handled with a thought for their proper conditioning from the beginning. There is no playtime about the dressing process. After a child has begun to walk he is not fondled or caressed.

Nevertheless, reciprocal respect and regard for each other's interest exist between parents and children. Young people are not managed so much by exhortation as by a long process of control. Children rarely answer back to an elder and in case this is done they are not whipped but are told that they have

disgraced themselves, that if a neighbor knew of their wrong doing he would think they were strangers. Even while children are still unable to walk they never receive a piece of bread from the table without permission nor would they think of helping themselves at the cupboard without asking leave to do so.

This respect for the authority and wisdom of parents is continued into adulthood. Marriage of a young person is not felt to constitute a break with this relation to parents. It is common for a grown son with a family to ask advice of the father before any important move is made. For example a merchant narrates "Mr. X, a man of about forty-five, came in to look at a new tractor. He was well pleased with it and I had made him a good price on it. These fellows always pay cash. I expected any moment to be asked to deliver the machine. But when everything seemed to be settled he said, 'Well, we'll see what pa says about it.' I told him that if money was the question, his note was solid gold to me. He assured me, however, that money was not the question. I just surmised that he was going to ask the old man about it and maybe he'd think the son didn't need a new tractor. Sure enough, he came back the next Saturday afternoon and the old man was with him. They looked it all over and talked in Low German awhile. Finally the son came in and handed me a check with his own name signed to it and told me to deliver the machine the next Monday."

The children are taught to prefer home to any other place. When they contemplate moving, they are in the habit of thinking how it will affect the family. In turn, the family stands by the child as long as he asks its protection.

Ceremonials which belong to certain occasions are an important item in providing occasions for participation in collective behavior and facilitating corporate action. They are woven into various interests and needs. Also they may have reference to some value beyond the act itself. New Year's visiting and courting collectively performed are among the observable ceremonies which are well grounded in traditions.

New Year's celebrations extend over a period of seven days. These are designated as the First New Year's Day, the Second New Year's Day, and so forth. On the morning of the First

New Year's Day the wife makes the New Year's cakes, baking them on a pan resembling a waffle iron, except that there are no pits in it. The result is a plain thin, crisp cake, across which the greeting, "Happy New Year" is written in old Frisian script. These cakes are taken along on the afternoon of the First New Year's Day, when the women start out with their husbands, married sons, and daughters-in-law to make calls. A few cakes are left at each house, one for each adult member of the family. Cakes are also eaten while the visit is made. These visits are short, as people want to make and to receive as many calls as possible in the seven-day period. Unconfirmed children do not participate in this social ceremony.

Courting is guided by various ceremonies. Children may be tentatively promised to each other by their families, but the actual courting, nevertheless, is prescribed in the traditions. In the olden days before the horse and buggy became common, it is related, the young man walked up the lane to the house of the girl to whom he desired to pay his court and whistled at the gate. The man of the house then came out and after the two had talked for awhile the young man withdrew. If, while he was talking, he saw the girl of his choice come to the window and stay a few minutes, he would regard this as an invitation to come back a week later. If she came to the window and left immediately, the young man did not return. If he returned, and if the family approved of him, he was admitted to the house. While he sat and talked to the parents, the girl of his choice went about her household tasks.

In another two weeks, the young man came to supper, which was known to have been prepared by the courted girl. At that time samples of her handiwork were also placed on display. If the young man was permitted to stay till midnight it was taken for granted that the couple had become engaged. From this time on the young people might visit each other twice a week, but it was formerly very unusual for the couple to go anywhere together. Little paired companionship existed until after marriage. Girls attending a party went in small groups and returned in the same manner, the younger fellows did likewise, although at the party all paired off. At the present time there is a little

more informality, but parents are still vigilant in maintaining collective sociability. The desire to modify this custom is producing tensions such as those reflected in documents quoted in a later chapter.

Weddings are always celebrated by a dinner at the home of the groom. Thereafter the pair is escorted to the new home and the door is locked from the outside by the neighbors. The key is hung on a nail by the window so that the next morning it may be reached from the inside of the house.

By means of marriage the status of both the man and the woman is changed. They sit in different places in the church. The man establishes a new family seat and the wife sits with the husband's mother and family. After a girl is married, she no longer goes into the sitting room with her friends, but stays with the wives in the kitchen, since when neighbors meet, it is customary for the older women to stay in the kitchen and send the younger women into the sitting room. The husband, too, is expected to stay with the married men.

The married person is held in higher esteem than the single person. To be single later than the usual age of marriage has hitherto been considered cause for commiseration, for such a person occupies an interstitial place in the group organization. He is too old to be in the younger group and he is not admitted into full status among the married. Though there is small place in the social system for an unmarried man, there has been even less provision for an unmarried woman, because this is a society where the family is really the basic unit, a person is either one of the heads of a family or a child in the family. There are no other classifications.

Baptism, which is a ceremony of the church, has specific sociological significance. It admits the individual into the church to be protected until he shall arrive at the years of discretion and become confirmed. The rite of baptism gives the child his name. In the traditions of the group an illegitimate child is not baptized until some one will stand in place of father to him and give him a family name. This ceremony thus admits the child into the social group.

Confirmation, though it is a religious ceremony, is symbolic of social adulthood and responsibility. The age for confirmation

is about fourteen, though it is tacitly assumed that no immature girl is confirmed, and the boy's first man's attire dates from his confirmation. This ceremony always comes on Palm Sunday, the first communion being taken at Easter Services. After confirmation certain things are expected of the individual which were not called for before. The age of childhood is definitely past and the confirmed person is socially responsible with the parents for hospitality extended, for calls to be returned, and other courtesies. He enters into the world of adult duties as well as of adult privileges. The boy, provided his schooling is finished, is at liberty to court his future wife and the girl is permitted to receive company. The boy also does his part in the exchange of labor and is permitted to sit with the older men in the church. Since he is expected at this time to have some plan whereby he can begin saving money for marriage, the family gives him a piece of land, the income from which is his own. He may also be permitted to leave the homeplace and hire out by the month if the father does not need his labor on the farm. The girls may hire out as maids to other members of the community who need someone as steady help. These are as yet only old couples whose own children are all married and gone, no one else employs a maid, for social differentiation on the basis of leisure or of conspicuous consumption does not exist in this group.

Proverbs are vestiges of experiences and indicate attitudes and values which are factors in the control of conduct. They are convenient devices for recalling past judgments and for releasing in others these previously formed attitudes. The proverbs which follow are the ones most frequently used by the group.

Some of these adages are clearly survivals of experience with the old world environment. "Don't stake off more than you can jump over" is a metaphorical abstraction of experience in the old country, where the land is dissected by numerous ditches. The men, and some of the women, therefore, carry poles by which they vault across the ditch. To put one's vaulting pole out too far is dangerous and lands one in the water. The next quotation also echoes experience in the old homeland, where taxes were levied according to means and if anyone showed signs of prosperity his tax was increased. "When the tax collector comes to the door the wife puts away the best dress for another time."

Many of these proverbs refer to the Frisians' love of home. In their opinion nothing is worse than to leave the homestead and go out into the "strange world." This sentiment is shared by other non-mobile peoples.

It is better to die in your own kitchen than to be mourned as dead by your family when you have left your home.

When the sea wind blows, the salt will be smelt by the young men and the carrion by the old.

Mothers' tears can bring the son home but they cannot wash off the mud of travel.

The ship rocks most on the journey out.

Where love is around the fireside, the wind whistles softly outside.

Bad times make the hearthplace sweeter and good times keep the sons away.

The love of the in-group is reflected in the adage that "wishing harm to a neighbor is equivalent to assaulting him." There is also an expression in the language which means "to make a stranger of a neighbor is to murder him."

Work is esteemed as a virtue in Frisian traditions and there are many proverbs in its praise. The following are illustrative.

The best grease for the plow is perspiration.

The house is as good as the good wife and as bad as the lazy one.

Beer is to be drunk when the work is done.

The soil yields best where the sweat drops heaviest.

When the sun shines on a man in bed it is the Sabbath or the fever.

Bad soil is best watered by sweat.

When the collector comes twice for the tax it means that the wife has called twice for the husband to leave the bed.

When the frost kills the garden plants the master has slept too warm.

Bad crops are from God and the tiller.

If the heart is asking to leave, the plow does not cut the furrow.

When money rattles in the pocket, the hand will be unsteady at the plow. (This seems to admit that hard work is the result of necessity.)

Wherever the clouds come thickest, there is the lazy man to catch the rain.

When the rats are lean it means that the children will need a heavy garb in the winter (The meaning of this aphorism is that when food is not plentiful, the body heat must be increased by clothing of extra warmth)

Frugality is another value and this thrifty attitude has been embodied in the proverbs of the people

When the crop is heavy the heart is light

When the fire is laid in the oven, the good wife does not tarry with the cooking

Vanity is not condoned

If a man marries a wife with two dresses he must find his own dinner in the pot

It is not good to have a mirror in the kitchen—the soup will be burned

Lace on the cap means mice in the pantry

She has a gold tongue in her mouth, it will never turn green (No one is to be talked about unkindly, green refers to objects of brass which corrode)

One dress is for the good wife, two are for the vain woman, and three are for the harlot

Clean hands are for the table and the bed

Since the birth rate in Frisia is low it is often a matter of concern as to who shall care for the land and the old folks when feebleness overtakes them. Such a situation is expressed in this terse manner

Two sons—two daughters, two daughters—many tears

War takes the best sons and love the best daughters, but when the rain comes it brings most good to the good soil (The Frisian young men served in the German army and the people were accustomed to the ravages of war. This rather pessimistic outlook—that fate takes the best and leaves the worst—is rather lightened by the last part of the proverb)

The following proverb reflects the traditional respect for the judgment of the elders

If a son says that his father is a fool he has not lived long

The more closely knit a group is, the more spontaneous is the integration of behavior and the easier is the problem of social control. Distinctive folkways, so long as they succeed in isolat-

ing a group or in keeping it apart from contradictory ways, aid in this organization. When these folkways are called into question they are maintained all the more forcefully, providing they seem to be essential from the standpoint of the given society. However, if these variations in behavior acquire prestige, they will gradually undermine the authority of the smaller, and therefore the weaker, culture. The solution for this dilemma lies in the complete incorporation of the smaller into the larger culture group, thereby maintaining organization and control. But the transition is usually accompanied by individual stress, if not demoralization. One test of a good social organization lies in the success with which this transition is made.

CHAPTER VII

CULTURE CONTACTS AND CHANGE

Material inventions and social contacts incidental to business and other relations may produce changes in non-material culture. The automobile, the radio, and reading material are definitely classifiable as instruments of social contact which are effecting changes in the social organization of this rural community. However, no one instrument or means of social contact can be regarded as the cause of any specific social change.

The automobile obviously has far-reaching effects as means of multiplying social contacts. It came into use here in 1909. Two brothers were the first purchasers. Since that time the number of cars has steadily increased, so that in 1929 there was a total of 134 cars owned by eighty-two families in the "congregation" (See Table V).

Contacts are made with a wide range of behavior models through the reading materials admitted into this community. Whatever the quality of these materials, it is patent that newspapers and magazines do provide a source of contact with folkways which are strange to this rural primary group. Table VI shows the number of newspapers and periodicals subscribed for in the last ten years.

There are only two non-English papers in the list and these are a church paper and a dialect paper. The latter is read by a minority of the adults. The third generation seems to be chiefly responsible for the prevalence of the reading. Those of the first generation had gone to school in Friesland but there it was not the custom to do much reading outside of school and confirmation classes. The schematization of life was based on primary group contacts and has largely continued so in this group although it is now changing in various respects.

Here, as elsewhere, advertisements are found to be a significant means of acculturation, especially with reference to material elements. One common source of reading for all is the mail order catalogue, of which every household has one or more. From the illustrations in these the women make clothing for

TABLE VI
TYPE AND QUANTITY OF READING MATTER AND THE DURATION IN YEARS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS, 1920-1929

Reading Matter	Number of Subscriptions	Years' Duration of Subscriptions									
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 or more
Local Daily	49	3	4	6	7	5	1	16	1	5	1
Local Weekly	62	21	10	9	8	9	1	1	1	1	1
Local "Press"	28	1	1	1	1	1	1	10	2	1	1
Herald Examiner	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Chicago Tribune	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Prairie Farmer	57	20	6	8	10	1	1	5	2	2	2
Farm and Fireside	41	32	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Every Woman's Magazine	18	11	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Waltham League Paper											
German	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	32
English	31	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	31
East Prussian Nachrichten, published in Buda, Iowa	52	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	45
True Story Magazine	22	10	1	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
True Romances	24	18	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Western Story	8	5	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Liberty	15	13	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Saturday Evening Post	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Breeder's Gazette	5	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Whiz Bang	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sex Stories	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE VII
REPORTED USE MADE OF RADIOS IN SIX HOMES

Home No	Church Services	Market Reports	Jazz Orchestra	Other Musicals, Hours Daily	Public Addresses	Total Hours of Daily Use
1	Never	Frequently	Never	2 hours	none	3-4
2	Never	Frequently	Seldom	3 hours	none	3-4
3	Never	Frequently	Seldom	Seldom	none	3-4
4	Never	Frequently	Often	9 hours	none	1-3
5	Never	Frequently	Often	1 hour	Home Econ Hr	10-12
6	Never	Frequently	Frequently	4 hours	none	3-4

themselves and their children. Any little innovation in furnishing comes from the catalogue. "I saw it in the catalogue," or "it is in the catalogue" stamps a style as authentic. Among the younger people the catalogue furnishes a guide for the arrangement of furniture and trimmings in the home. When they go to town and see some article that is new, they come home and look at the catalogue and see if they can find it there. If it is not there it is seldom adopted, but if it is, it is soon imitated or purchased.

TABLE VIII
ATTENDANCE AT MOVIES DURING AN EIGHT-WEEK PERIOD

Generation	Times Attended										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	20
2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	1	8	80	51	22	83	7	3	3	4	1

The radio offers a limited, but subtle, form of contact. Since the use of the radio is felt to be incompatible with some values of this local group its use is restricted to what may be called secular and artistic content. In 1929 there were six radios in this group. A canvas of these six homes gave the uses of the radio as shown in Table VII.

It is evident that the movies may furnish some new models of behavior. In the absence of data from control groups, a record of the attendance at movies in a given interval merely shows that the persons reporting give the specified answers. If one were to attend all the shows taking place in the nearby trading centers, during the eight-week period, he would be able to see sixty-four different shows. Data regarding movie attendance of persons of the second and third generations were gathered for the period June 15 to August 13, 1929 (Table VIII).

Just how far the movies affect culture change is not clear. But some samples may be cited. Several children have been named after movie stars and some of the girls are letting their bobbed hair grow long because they "saw it in the movies." In fourteen other cases an interest was expressed in getting pictures of movie stars.

Many of the sources of new patterns are not of a nature to be set down. A chance remark, a stray paper, an advertisement sent through the mail, the display in a store window, the remarks of a chicken buyer, may set up a process whose course cannot be traced later. It may be said, however, that the contact is the necessary antecedent of most innovations and may be the new element in the closed system. From these contacts, the new action ways are introduced into the group.

TABLE IX
AVERAGE HOURS OF WORK AND LEISURE AS REPORTED BY EIGHTY-ONE
ADULT MALES IN THREE GENERATIONS

Average hours of work in busy season	
First generation	14
Second generation	13
Third generation	10¾
Average hours of work in slack season	
First generation	10
Second generation	8½
Third generation	7½
Average hours of rush season leisure time by generations	
First generation	1½
Second generation	2½
Third generation	3

An attempt was made to measure the effect of these several contacts upon the variation of opinion in reference to topics on which there was formerly a homogeneous attitude. The younger generation now holds notions which vary greatly from those of their forefathers with regard to such questions as hours of work, methods of spending leisure time, education, matrimony, and divorce.

The variations by generations with reference to hours of work and leisure time are indicated by Table IX. These changes seem to be coupled with changes in the attitudes toward work, which in turn, coincide with changes incidental to the introduction of power machinery. Whether the attitude motivated the change or whether the attitudes were formed after the change was made it is impossible to say.

While such testimonial records of facts are subject to many criticisms, they do nevertheless indicate clearly the differences in work habits between the generations. Although a few third gen-

eration individuals continue to work long hours the trend toward a shorter work day is even more pronounced than is disclosed by the averages. These differences of attitudes toward work are disclosed in the following typical replies.

One man, who proudly explained that he had worked from fourteen to sixteen hours a day all of his active life, answered, "Yes, you bet we worked. I am glad that I had to. That is what makes people strong and it keeps you away from the things that are wrong for you. We worked early and late and all the time. We had to. The young fellows now are a lot of lazy ones and they will live to be sorry." Another of the first generation was a little more lenient. "Yes we worked because we had to—I guess when you get old you like to remember all the good things about yourself. I don't believe we liked work then any better than the men do now, but we had no choice about it. One thing, of course we didn't see anybody having a free time, so it was easier to stick by the work. I don't blame the young fellows now. They have machinery that will do in a day what it took us weeks to do and it is just as well. The only thing that worries me is what they do when they are gone on the road so much."

"I work as hard as necessary for any man to work. A twelve-hour day at farm work is all a man ought to stand. Life is just work, work, work, it is true, but that does not mean that you can't knock off once in awhile," reports an individual of the second generation.

Third generation individuals state "I work hard enough but I don't kill myself. There is no sense in that. I don't let my wife work herself to death either. I want her to take care of the children and I can make the farm go. We get more rest and more fun than our fathers did and they got more than the grandfathers. Maybe the time will come when a button will do all the work and we will be spoiling for more buttons to touch."

"I work when I can't get away before my father catches me. If I can get the old bus started I am off. The farm can go to the devil and me with it but I will not work any more than I have to. I work in the busy season until I get hot and tired and then I get cleaned up and beat it for town to see a good show. My father has more money than he will ever spend and why should I kill myself by adding to it? I'll get mine some day and

so will Annie Then watch me sell out and go into selling cars and farm machinery! That's what I've always wanted to do but no chance on this place If a fellow don't farm he is a leper or something Nobody has any use for him You can put that all down in black and white I am sick of the farm and the slavery that goes with it—mud, snow, ice, sleet, rain, heat, sweat, blood—no sir! I am for living long and being happy ”

TABLE X
REASON GIVEN FOR SUSPENDING WORK IN BUSY SEASON,
ARRANGED BY GENERATIONS

Reasons	Generations		
	1	2	3
Go to church	5	22	55
Help a neighbor	5	22	55
Go to town (urgent)	5	22	55
Go to town (optional)	1	12	39
Go to town (pleasure)	0	3	30
Indisposition	1	0	21

The generations also record differences as to the occasions which warrant stopping work One of the first generation comments "I quit work to go to church and to go and help a neighbor that is sick or in trouble I quit if I am sick enough to go to bed It depends on when it is whether I quit to make a trip to town Usually the women can manage a trip to town" One of the second generation made the following comment "We quit for church and to help a neighbor and to make a trip to town If it is not some busy day, like threshing or butchering, or when it looks like rain and we want to get a piece plowed before it is too late, we don't mind stopping to go to town or to do something like that I stop when I feel sick because often if you do that you don't get seriously ill "

A member of the third generation says "I stop most any time Of course we have to go to church and I stop to help a neighbor if he needs me worse than I need to work I go to town on sales days if the women want to go and I like to take the family to a good show once in awhile It takes their minds off the work and they feel more like going at it again when they come back Too steady a grind isn't good for anyone The work will keep and we will get along with less of it and a little more fun and live as long as we want to anyhow" Table X shows

the different things for which work is suspended, the entries being made by generations

Attitudes toward farming indicate that a tendency to follow occupations other than the traditional one has been fostered by contacts with the outside influences. The following letters written by children in school express attitudes toward their own future occupations

I want to be a farmer when I get big and I am going to have all the machinery I can buy and two automobiles

I am going to marry a town man when I get big and then we will have lots of shows and not so much work. I will have a house with a bathroom and I will scrub it all white. My babies will always look cute like the ones in the catalogue. I won't work like my mama does

I want to be an auto mechanic and make lots of money and not have to work so hard. I like machinery and I don't like to work in the field. I want to take my mama with me when I go to town to work

I want to be a teacher and teach the children to sing and to play. I am taking piano lessons with the minister's girl now and I won't stay on the farm any longer then. I will live in town and go to the show every day

I want to be a farmer. Every time somebody invents something, the farmer has an easier time and when I get big the roads will be better and cars will be faster and I can live in the country and be away from the noise and the dirt and can be a real farmer and not have to work so hard after all. I like the farm.

I will never get married. That is a sure thing because they have to work too hard on the farm. I am going to go to high school and then get a job selling in a store. I would like all the pretty things there and the nice people. I will manicure my hands and then have nice clothes and wear silk stockings every day and curl my hair in a permanent

I may be a radio expert, as that is getting more important all the time too

The above excerpts are representative of a large collection. The majority of these children had taken on the urban point of view in not wishing to remain on the farm. Of the four who wished to stay, three judged the farm as it would be in the future and not as it is now.

Divisions on generation lines are further shown in attitudes expressed toward topics of general interest. These expressions were spontaneous in that they were not made in response to an inquiry. Two persons of the first generation, speaking of education, commented: "They tell me that the world don't use the ones who are ignorant. It may be necessary then to get an education." "Education would be all right if it didn't do so much harm. The young folk get to thinking that the books will give them wisdom, but there is much they can't get except by living. Then they go off and do foolish things. It is spoiling the home life. It takes the children off the farm and the women go into men's work. It is all right for those who have education, but we have never been used to having it and why can't the world stay out and let us alone?"

Two persons of the second generation comment: "The kids who get educated have got the big head. They want to be something and don't know how. They look down at the rest of us. If the state would mind its own business they'd turn out some real workers and not a lot of people looking for soft jobs. In our young days we did not need an education and we never missed what we never had. But you can see yourself that the world is changing. The land is getting so small that all of the children can't stay on it and some of them will have to get out and do something else. That means that they will have to have an education. I don't always see what it means to study some of the things that they have to study but I don't expect the school men to come out and tell me how to farm so I keep my mouth out of their business, too. My boys can go to high school if they want to but I am offering them a mechanic's course when they get through the grades. They can do as they like. No matter what they do the education won't hurt them. I mean providing the boys get along well in the school. They won't get any farther and they just have a good chance to get more used to loafing. You have to keep a lazy boy on the farm and then you can see that he works."

A young man of the third generation affirms: "I am going to high school and maybe to college. I want to play football and be a track man. That is the only thing any more that makes you something."

A woman of the third generation says "I did not get to go to high school but I want my children to go. Life is hard on the farm and I don't want them to have to stay if they don't want to and want to do something else. Some educated people make me tired, but if they don't act smart with it, it is all right. The only drawback is that it makes the people that don't have it feel like they are not as good as the ones that have it."

TABLE XI
REPLIES OF FIFTY YOUTHS AS TO WHAT
CONSTITUTES A "GOOD TIME"

Form of Activity	Number of Replies
Shows	50
Spending much money	50
Eating in restaurants	47
Dancing	32
Seeing the world	10
Tips	9
Going to college	2

The notion of a "good time" shows a contrast between generations as do the foregoing items. Two replies answering the question, "What is your idea of a good time?" are given verbatim, one from a girl of seventeen and one from a boy of eighteen. The summary of replies by fifty youths of the third generation is given in Table XI.

"A week of good times? Well, I'd want to go to town and see a picture show every afternoon and in the evening I would go to a dance or another show. I would want to eat all my meals in restaurants and have ice cream for every one of them, even for breakfast. I would order lettuce salad with mayonnaise, celery, jelly, and chili and beef steak. I might get tired of that for a year but then I could think of something else I could do when I got tired of what I was doing. I would need about a hundred dollars to buy clothes with, too."

"I'd like to stay in bed every morning till I got ready to get up. Then I'd want to take my own car and go to town and see life. I'd go to shows, take a trip to Chicago with some other fellows and I'd go to Springfield and see where Lincoln is buried and where he used to live. I'd go to some more shows and a couple of dances and then come home and tell everybody about it. I would never get tired of this kind of a life."

Several of the young people expressed opinions at various times on the topics of current interest

Most girls in town have a choice as to what they are going to do when they quit school. They can either get married or go into some kind of work that they like. In the country, the girls have to stay at home and work on the home place or get married and work for the man. A girl should know that marriage is not just a good time and a chance to run the house as she wants it. They think that because a fellow is good to them before they are married that they won't have anything to do but look pretty afterwards. Every person should do something else before he or she marries.

I think marriage is the best thing there is for the farm girl. She is brought up to look for it and when she is married she has what she wants—a home, too, as she likes. I am very happy and I think it is because my folks told me the man to take. I have known him all my life and he has known me. I would never have married a stranger because we would have to get used to each other's ways and you never can know a fellow when he is trying to get you to marry him. It is the same for a fellow. He should know his wife for years and then he knows what he is getting, too.

One young man comments: "When I marry, I want a girl that I can step out with and not be ashamed of her. So many women get sloppy after they are married. Then a fellow looks around for somebody else. I think a man should respect his wife as well as want her. I read a lot from magazines and that is where we all get our ideas about things. All that the others told you they got out of magazines, too. They believe it and that is why they told you that way. I think the man and the woman should agree about everything and that they should talk things over. No woman should work in the field. That is not right, and they are not strong enough for that either. Some of them are, and brag about it, but the ones that are dead don't talk so loud."

The expressions of opinions in regard to divorce again show differences incidental to the variable degrees of contacts with the in-group and the out-group cultures. There was not one in the second generation who thought that the disruption of the marriage union was ever justified. One old lady said, "If a marriage isn't good both are to blame. In every marriage there are some things not so good, but you can take the good and manage to live through the bad and then it is all the same at

the end anyhow. If a man is cruel, let the neighbors whip him. The neighbors should not permit any divorces, they should see that the people behave themselves."

Several members of the third generation expressed themselves in favor of divorce if there was no other way out. The general opinion was that divorce is no more necessary now than it ever was, but that people are not as tolerant of hardship or inconvenience when society provides a way to terminate unpleasant arrangements. It is a sign of the changing times when there is some indication that marriages may be broken for definable reasons, since according to group traditions both marriage and its indissolubility were unquestioned.

There have been several cases of separation in this group, but as yet no divorce. In two of these cases reconciliations were effected though the intervention of other members of the community. In another, reconciliation is at present pending. A fourth case threatened to end in divorce but after a preliminary hearing in court the wife withdrew the charges and apparently an acceptable reconciliation has been effected. Studies pertaining to city conditions seem to disclose the fact that separation, rather than divorce is characteristic of the more disorganized areas. While in this group separation implies tensions, in some of the cases separation was planned as a means of bringing the erring members back into normal relations to each other, and thus to the group. Such techniques would be futile were there not a favorable culture and social organization back of the individual. It is indicative, however, of a breakdown of group standards of personal relations when, either in conforming to the American customs or in consequences of failure to acquire Frisian norms, marriages are unsuccessful.

It would seem, then, that contacts between cultures invariably produce changes in one or both. When one of these belongs to a very small minority lacking previous prestige, it is certain to capitulate to the larger and more efficient culture unless one or all of three conditions obtain: ineradicable prejudice which keeps the groups rigorously apart, complete isolation of the incoming group from the receiving group and continued incorporation in the parent culture, or the creation of superior culture by the minority through its own initiative. None of these conditions

exist in the case under review. Consequently changes are inevitable in this group, notwithstanding its superior efficiency in various respects. The relation of such changes to group organization are observed in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

Changes are a normal aspect of collective life. Only the more abrupt and incompatible innovations are ordinarily felt to constitute a threat against the existing values. Where the acceptance of the new, as such, is supposed to be a mark of merit, changes cause no unusual tensions. But where innovations are uncongenial to the social organization these produce confusion unless the group is able to act as a unit in incorporating the variant folkways and in otherwise meeting the crises.

The character of the group organization, therefore, affects both the rate and method of these culture borrowings, as well as the degree of the resulting disorganization. In this community, changes have been regulated by the high quality of the cooperative organization, the traditions adverse to mobility and the restrictions upon contact incidental to rural residence. Here the effects of the new means of mobility and communication are now shown in the third and fourth generations, whereas in cities where contacts are less restricted than they are in a rural primary group, similar results may be produced in the second generation.

The universal source of social change—contact between groups having unlike cultures—has already been seen to be active in this community. The influences first enter at points where the group has been penetrated by outsiders, or where its members come into contact with the new action ways. Thus these outside forces affect the group members unequally. In this, as in other societies studied, the young have suffered a more extensive loss of the distinctive culture in that they have not adequately acquired their parents' traditions. Obversely, they have taken on more of the new folkways and attitudes. They accept the variant ways more readily because they are less tied by habit and responsibility to the existing order. Also they are more likely to come into new contacts because they are the more mobile section of the population.

The effects of this difference in social mobility is shown by the tabulation of the answers to the question "Who are your

best friends?" This question was asked of ten persons of the second generation (that is, children of the immigrants) residing in the center of the settlements and ten at the periphery, and of the same number of the third generation residing respectively at the center and periphery. From these answers and the known residence of the persons named, the following deductions can be made:

(a) Those of the second generation in the center of the settlement have concentrated or overlapping lists of best friends and none of them are outsiders.

(b) Those of the second generation on the periphery of the settlement have a wider range or distribution of friends than do those in the center. One of the persons named is an outsider.

(c) Those of the third generation residing in the center showed a much more diversified list than the second generation in like position and more than the second generation on the periphery. A fourth of the persons named are outsiders.

(d) Those of the third generation on the periphery, list the largest number and more than one-half of the persons named are non-Frisians.

Accordingly it is at the points where the young make contact with the outside world that we may expect to find the clearest evidences of social change. One source of new models is the high school. Because higher education of all but ministers is excluded from this group's culture, the incentive for advanced schooling apparently must come from the outside. When children leave the neighborhood to attend school a conflict of attitudes is produced, as shown by the following documents:

I think I went to high school because I wanted to keep from just settling down into the same old rut that everyone out here is in. I went to visit a friend in the village and she had some high-school girls stay with her when the roads were bad. They talked so much about the fun they had that I wanted to go too. I made up my mind that I would go. I asked my mother about it and she said that the life of a woman on the farm was hard but she said that wherever you went you had to work. I told her that I wanted to be a teacher and so I wanted to go to high school. It took all of my eighth grade year to persuade her that I should go. But as I had been confirmed already and she didn't need me at home, I was finally allowed to go. My papa said that it all depended on how high headed I got the first year whether I could go ahead and finish.

Yes, I am glad that I went I made some friends and learned something, but sometimes I think I would have been better off if I had stayed at home. Seeing excitement makes you dissatisfied and even if I do appreciate my home, there are so many things that I would want to change if I could. It is no use to start to change anything though, because there is no place to end. I am very lonesome now when I am back home in the same old place. I learned to dress differently. I started to use powder and rouge and lipstick and to have my hair set with combs. I learned how to dance and how to give the boys a 'line', as it is called. Most of all I learned that one can never be satisfied with going backwards. I do so want to get out of here. I want to get a school and teach but I never made a good grade in English and History and so I don't think I have much of a chance yet. One thing I did not like about high school and that was everybody had to do everything alike or they did not 'rate' and they were laughed at. I know how they laughed at me when I was ashamed to go through the hall in my gym suit. They laughed at me when I met some of the neighbors on the street and talked our language with them. They are not kind to people who have not got everything like they have it. On the whole, though, I would do it again.

You asked me why I went to high school. You ought to know that it is because you told me about it and told me that I had the ability to make something of myself. I remember when we used to stay after school and clean the boards for you and you used to bring us library books from town. You brought me some historical novels and that got me interested in the history of Europe. Do you remember that story of the Protestant Reformation that you gave me for Christmas? That was what decided me to go into the ministry. You said that I was a dreamer and you used to like things I wrote and told me to keep a diary. I guess it was just curiosity that made me start. I knew that I wanted to be like the boys I met at your house that week-end you took us in to the football game. I just got a glimpse of what college would be like. I decided then and there to try it. It was the minister who finally helped me to decide to come here and study. I like it. I hope some day to be a real minister but I am having a hard time to swallow some of the things I read. I have been reading *The Outline of Science* and that evolution idea certainly sets me around some. I wish you would answer me and tell me what that has to do with it, as it is contradictory to everything that I am studying.

I went to high school because I wanted to learn to be a typist. My high-school diploma is my Emancipation Proclamation. It should read thus way, 'To whom these presents shall come, this certifies

that—has cut the apron strings and burned the bridges behind her. She is going from the cornfield to the wide, wide world to see how other people live

•

I don't want to be as dumb as I was before I am a lot different Nobody likes me any more in the country They think I am stuck on myself Well, I am a little farther along in the world than they will ever be, and it seems to me that they should not find fault with me when they are so far behind me that they can't even talk to me so that I will be interested in what they say I've had a little taste of education and I'd like to have more but I won't be able to get that

These excerpts show change in the children who went to high school, but they also imply the disturbing effect of this access to new schemes of life organization In the first document, the subject is frankly disappointed at having to come back to the less adventurous schematization It is a change from the movement and color of the world outside She has hit upon the real problem of those who would change things in the social order. "It is no use to try to change anything as there is no place to end" This person had a more accurate notion of the structure of culture than those who go in from the outside and advocate reforms Such unrest may stop short of more serious consequences or it may lead to a violent conflict of the individual with the culture of the group and thus to individual demoralization

The third document shows a further stage of this reaction to the novelty of the outside, which is viewed romantically rather than practically, and represents an example of acute personal disorganization The writer has finished a high-school business course and wants to find a career which will take her into the world which she has pictured incorrectly The difference between the real competitive world and her notion of it was demonstrated when she succeeded in getting a position and failed to adapt herself to the impersonal professionalized standards of behavior among her co-workers She quit in anger the second day Another position was ended after two weeks for the same reason

After this she returned to her home but is still restless. She wants to go to the university, but the effect of high-school attendance seems to discredit the desirability of such a move This is as yet too abrupt a step for the parents to sanction They think that they have given her enough education and correctly attribute

her restlessness and unhappiness to the fact that she has gone to high school. While this is the correct construction of the problem the solution⁶ may lie in further equipment and training which would enable her to compete successfully and to secure favorable status in larger circles of people. The other members of the group censure her saying that "she wants to be something," a phrase which implies that the individual is trying to be different, and that group standards are no longer acceptable to her. The censure of her neighbors indicates resistance against differentiation with the threatened loss of rapport and disruption of solidarity.

The writer of the second letter has solved his problem in an interesting way. He reached his goal of doing an unprecedented thing by following a course that must perforce be sanctioned by the group. His question in regard to his reading shows some of the unrest incidental to conflicts between tradition and scientific views of the world.

The position of these young people with reference to their groups is like that of the "marginal man"⁷ who is no longer contented with his own group but who is also not incorporated with another. Such a person may be out of place in his own group because he is ashamed of its ways and is haughty or fault-finding. He may be equally ill at ease in his new environment. A rebuff from this source often prompts such an individual, if he is not too hostile to his own group, to become its leader, in order to raise its status, as well as his own. However, if he attempts to avoid this responsibility he is likely to continue as a misfit in both environments.

The evidence at hand indicates that this community has attempted to cope with the problem of its restless members who are ashamed of their background or resentful of the restraints which the elders took as a matter of course, by making concessions to them, without, however, yielding the principle of the individual's responsibility. The pastor, as a leader of the congregation, has recognized this problem and has made an attempt to accommodate himself to the changed ways of the young folk. The parents of the girl who is experiencing a period of intense

⁶Robert A. Park and H. Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted*, p. 111.

conflict are doing the same thing, they are trying to find a way out that will secure happiness for her. If they were not, they would tell her that she could settle down at home and behave herself or else get a job and live where she wishes. They are incurring the censure of neighbors in "pampering" this child, yet the very ones who are finding fault with these parents' tolerance are themselves trying to find ways to make their own children more contented.

Such accommodation to changes is, in the long run, the only guarantee of cohesion in the midst of a changing civilization. While this procedure will result in a more rapid change, it may prevent breaking down the group organization, as an attitude of extreme intolerance would do. If all members showing variant behavior were expelled from the group, its very existence would be shortened because when those who were of like mind died, the group organization and traditions would cease.

The utility of these measures is indicated by the fact that none have completely broken with the group for reasons of conflict between the two cultures. Home ties are still strong and experience in the impersonal world may even awaken pride in the superior traits of the home community as shown by the document cited in Chapter III. However, significant signs of unrest among the third generation foreshadow a rapid individuation, if not disorganization, of the group in the near future.

One of the most outstanding of these signs of change is the loss of respect for the traditions and the sensitiveness of the younger people in regard to the language spoken in their homes. The young people say that they do not see why anyone should want to study "the old German language." Interviews with the older people many times brought the observation that the young were ashamed of their language. One young woman refused to go to town with her parents because they "talked German on the street and everyone turned to look at them."

When the school children were questioned as to the language used in their homes, eleven out of twenty gave false statements. When attention was later called to their misstatements, the children were willing to admit that the answers were not correct but said that they wanted the teacher to think well of them. "It sounds so funny to say your folks don't talk English at home,

people will think you come out of the back woods" "The kids in town laugh at the kids out here and say their parents can't speak English" "I wish my folks would talk English then I could tell them how the other kids feel when you talk German"

A number of persons were asked if they used their mother language in public places. Almost invariably the answer given by the younger ones was that they avoided it whenever possible. They volunteered their reasons for this, saying that "Everyone looks at you and thinks you are some kind of strange animal and then they laugh at you" "It sounds dumb, as if you didn't know how to talk" "People don't like it because they think you are talking about them" "It makes me feel so ashamed of myself that I am a Dutchman and don't know anything"

Persons of the second generation use the language as they always have. In their answers to questions about the use of German or Frisian they showed contempt for the persons who laugh at them. "If they don't like it they know what they can do. It is none of their business how we talk" "I don't care what the people think about my talk. I can buy and sell most of them that laugh at me." While the latter remark may show that the individual is compensating for a feeling of inferiority, these replies do serve to show the difference in attitude between generations. The mature adults are fully integrated personally, for they acquired their own culture completely. Also they have sufficient perspective to judge relative values reliably.

The school children of the third and fourth generations frequently use personal names other than their right ones. Inquiry as to the reason for this brought the answer that they use those names all the time when they are away from their folks because "they didn't sound so old-fashioned and German." The use of the traditionally familiar baptismal names is also undergoing change. This is illustrated by the contrast of names given infants in two periods separated by approximately fifteen years. The following is a list of the names of all the babies born in a two-year period of the previous decade. Girls—Annie, Hilda, Edna, Ida, Freda, Bertha, Pauline, Boys—Rudolph, Ralph, Henry, Fred, Herman, John, Walter, Ehme. The next list gives the names of children born in the recent two-year period. Girls—Gloria Dolores, Nancy Jane, Eloise, Gertrude, Helena Mae, Ei-

leen Lou, Elizabeth Dorothea, Roys—Henry, John, Charles, Manning Junior, Merle, Richard, Eugene

Another index to the feeling of self-consciousness over the use of a distinctive speech may be found in the changed spelling of names. This is being introduced by the new generation more frankly than by their elders. Such changes, however, are not necessarily made to obscure personal origin. A few persons of the second generation changed the spelling of their names so as to conform to the English phonetics and a few even to the English equivalent of the German meaning of the names. The reason for these changes were said to be that their mail was missent or that their name was always spelt incorrectly by outsiders.

Defiance is also shown against restraints which are felt to be more exacting than those to which other youths are subjected. Parents lament the fact that the young people are on the road until all hours of the night and there does not seem to be much that they can do about it. They have ascribed this state of affairs to the automobile. This explanation is not wholly wrong, for such fluidity is both cause and effect of the condemned behavior or of the attitudes back of it. The attitudes among these young people are variously expressed.

"Dad gives me a pain in the neck," says Walter, eighteen. "He expects me to run the car at twenty miles an hour and to be home at nine o'clock. He's just a back number and of course does not know all the new ideas. A horse won't go at twenty miles an hour but a car will go sixty all night if you want it to."

"I feel sorry for ma," says Pauline. "She never had much of a good time in her life and so she can't miss it, but we are out to get some fun out of life and what the old folks don't know won't hurt them."

"I listen to pa and act real sorry when I have been out late, but I wink to myself and stay out as long as I like the next time."

"We don't intend to be bad and we aren't. We just want to have a good time. Here is all this money and these cars and then they expect us to sit down and watch the corn grow and get plenty of excitement out of that. No chance in this age for that sort of stuff."

The girls have not become as much of a problem as the boys because they do not take to the roads as easily, nor do they

offer as much resistance to keeping the conventional hours. The girls are a problem chiefly in regard to their dress and their desire to get an education. Many girls have expressed themselves as unwilling to settle down to marriage, as traditions have prescribed.

Until two years ago, there was no form of organization among the younger set corresponding to the "gangs" found in interstitial areas in the city. Two years ago a city lad who came to one of the homes and asked for a job was taken in and has remained here. The parents are suspicious of him and look upon him as one of the chief causes of their children's disobedience. However, the lad still holds his place for he is a good worker, and is employed by a member of the third generation. Since his arrival two organizations have sprung up. Both are underground affairs. The existence of these activities is suspected but the details are not known by the adults.

One of these is a club of boys and young men who call themselves the "Barn Rats." They meet in some barn where they "gang" in typical deculturized fashion, play cards, shoot craps, and read "off color" magazines. These boys have made pledges to think for themselves and to have a good time without interference from the old folks. They are encouraging each other to stay in school and go into occupations other than farming, if they so desire.

"The Pioneers" consists of a circle of girls who have pledged themselves not to marry unless they want to and to encourage each other in going to school and into town to work if they wish. They dress as they please and all wear extreme clothing and a great deal of makeup on their faces. This behavior is clearly compensatory. They have taken on behavior ways which to them are symbolic of freedom from the standards of the group. They have a collection of books among which is a set of etiquette books, a number of fashion magazines, and a book called "Sexology for Girls" put out by a press in Hollywood, California, and another on "Psychology of Womanhood," from the same source. Under the pretext of visiting, these girls meet in the home of the member where the literature is sequestered.

Whenever the older folk come together, their talk centers increasingly on this problem of the young people. Disagreements

are beginning to arise between neighbors because parents are prone to lay the blame for late hours and roving upon a neighbor's son, although they defend their own children. Though there are harsh things spoken to and about neighbors the group has continued its mutual aid and its functioning in the various institutionalized forms.

The demoralization of the young and the disintegration of the group which is threatened thereby is summed up by the resident minister in the following far-seeing manner:

I am not a pessimist. I have five daughters and three sons of my own who present to me many problems that I have never met before and so I am not looking upon the rising generation with the shocked eyes of a man just awakened from a twenty years' nap. But it is a problem of quite a different sort when children act according to the things they think are right and those things happen to differ from the conception that the parents have of what is right. This makes the parental control a futile thing indeed. I am frankly worried about the outcome. Do not misunderstand me, I am not preaching. I mean by outcome, not whether or not these children will be saved, there are many paths to that end and we have not even mapped them all, let alone travelled them, but what is worrying me is that the congregation will be broken up into many small enemy camps if this state of affairs continues without some attempt on the part of the elders to understand what is going on.

The church is losing its hold, according to the pastor, and yet his efforts to keep up with the young folk is often disapproved of by the parents. Church parties held at the pastor's home are not well attended as they used to be. However, when it was proposed to offer the young people some more modern forms of entertainment, the idea was not sanctioned by the elders. "They have the idea that they can keep the youngsters in the old pasture by building the fence higher," he explained. "What they need to do is to put attractive fences around the new pasture to which the people are moving." The young people come into the church and look around. If they see that they are observed they come in and sit down. If not, they are off on the roads for the day.

In view of the changes incidental to contacts between cultures and to the trends of the times in which young and old share unequally, the durability of a social organization of this type is problematical. If neighborliness as it is found in this group is the outcome of the conditions hitherto described, can this soli-

clarity continue when the conditions upon which it was built have disappeared?

The existence of stresses and strains indicate the fact that disorganization is imminent unless a corporate aim can be found to integrate the members. Strain may be said to be the pressure exerted from without an individual or a structure, and stress the activity taking place within, which may finally break it down. The strains bearing upon this group have been analyzed, and the resulting stresses have been noted both in individuals and in the traditional interpersonal relations, or group structure.

At present, the stress and strain are in a state of delicate balance. The old forms of neighborliness are still in full operation, but the strains from the outside are likely to increase, the stresses internally. With the passing of the culture differentiation, and the increasing association with the outside, behavior ways will most likely conform to the general pattern. This passing of the local culture is apparently the fate of rural society generally. In a similar manner the urban ways are penetrating all areas of American rural life. Whatever one's judgment concerning the desirability or undesirability of such a process, there is little that could be done about it. Such a trend is a repetition of the ceaseless process of sustaining consensus in society.

PART III

A Mobile, Individuated Community:
A Study of the Descendants of a
French Canadian Rural Group

CHAPTER IX

SETTLEMENT AND THE QUEST FOR AN ECONOMIC BASE

French Canadian immigration into the Kankakee River valley followed the earlier French explorations. In 1679, LaSalle, Tonty, and Father Hennepin, who were the first white men to explore the Kankakee, and in 1721, Father Charlevoix made favorable descriptions of the lands touched by this river. But it was almost a century later that the *coureurs du bois* and *voyageurs* from lower Canada explored the country and carried the story of "Le Bonne Terre" back with them. French Canadians took a prominent part in the trade with the Indians which sprang up after Astor's Fur Company penetrated into the Illinois country.¹ One of these traders, Le Vasseur, who was employed as government agent in removing the Red Men to western Iowa, settled at Bourbonnais Grove in 1833, thus becoming the first white resident in Kankakee County. In 1828 he had married Wetch-e-kee, or Watseka, niece of an Indian chief and now with her help and with that of several of his companions who had married squaws, he purchased four reservations which the Indians left to rejoin their tribe in Iowa. On this land he established a colony of his fellow countrymen whom he persuaded to migrate from Canada.

This first colony grew into the village of Bourbonnais, which became the base from which Canadian immigrants established themselves on the prairies of Illinois during the next thirty years. In 1855 this village was surrounded by several colonies. St. Anne, St. George, St. Mary, L'Erable, Manteno, and Papineau. Other towns were populated by a large proportion of French Canadians. Kankakee, which branched off from Bourbonnais

¹Information on the French Canadian immigration into Illinois and the settlement of the various villages has been derived from the following sources:

H. W. Beckwith, *History of Iroquois County*. Chicago: H. H. Hill and Co., 1880.

B. E. Burroughs, *Legends and Tales of the Homeland on the Kankakee*. Chicago: Regan Printing House, 1923.

and was incorporated in 1855, Momence, Irwin, Chebanse, and Martinton. Many more of these settlers were scattered among the other early residents of Kankakee and Iroquois counties.

The movement to Illinois was a part of the general French Canadian immigration to the United States. During the years 1815-1848, two movements were especially prominent. One was the ill-fated Icarian settlement in Texas, the inhabitants of which, some 500 in number, eventually moved to Nauvoo, Illinois, after that town was vacated by the Mormons. The second was the movement of Canadian French patriots after the rebellion of 1837-39. While many of these migrants settled in the New England States others came farther west—to Detroit, Saint Paul, Bourbonnais, and Kankakee, where Chiniquy, *fameux apostat*, had taken refuge.²

The incentives for this emigration arose in part from the agricultural situation in Canada and in part from favorable reports of conditions in the United States. In the French portion of Canada, farms were and still are small. Families were traditionally large, usually containing from ten to twenty-five children, and since, by custom, the eldest son inherited the land, his brothers had to leave the homestead to find a means of livelihood elsewhere. The climate is severe, the soil often infertile and the timber and stumps are very difficult to clear. This gave rise to the saying "The tree, there is the enemy."³ When once immigration was begun, it received impetus by the arrival of relatives and friends of the first settlers and by the favorable reports concerning the new lands.

In the year 1856 the immigration from Canada suddenly diminished, owing to a schism in the church at St. Anne, one of the first settlements to spring from Bourbonnais. Here Pere Chiniquy, a priest of Montreal, founded a colony and a schismatic church in 1853. He was suspended from the Catholic Church and excommunicated in 1853. Thereupon he organized two French Presbyterian Churches, one in St. Anne, the other in Kankakee, both of which still exist.⁴ The news of this schism

²Howard Mumford Jones, *America and French Culture*. Chapel Hill University of North Carolina Press, London. H. Milford, Oxford.

³Rev. J. Meyer, *Parish History* (privately printed), p. 134.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 91.

caused the Catholic clergy in Canada to discourage further migration to this region

The settlement with which our study is chiefly concerned was founded in 1850 by the direct initiative of Peter Spink, a Canadian of Scotch descent. He sold and rented land to the French Canadians who had lodged in nearby towns preliminary to settlement on farms. German and some French and Belgian migrants also took up residence here. Irish, as well as older Americans, added to the heterogeneity of the customs represented in the vicinity of the small hamlet which forms the center of the community selected for study. We shall refer to this place by the fictitious name of Maple Grove. Although the French Canadian culture prevailed here, it was diversified somewhat by a few families from Belgium and France. The general background of these three nationalities was similar, but the details differed.

The social and economic organization of the group was likewise affected by the slow formation of the colony and the high mobility of the early settlers. Impermanency of residence, which has characterized this community, was due in part to traditions and in part to the difficulty of the adjustment to economic conditions in the new environment. The French Canadians, unlike the French and Belgians from Europe, had no capital when they came. Although the land was cheap, that is, \$1.00 an acre for even the best government lands, and \$7.50 for railroad land (comprising every other section for six miles on each side of the right of way) these people usually had to work for wages until they had earned enough to buy the usual forty acres for a farmstead. The new arrivals found work at one of the more settled towns, and later moved from these areas of first settlement to the surrounding farming districts. Much of the high mobility of the earlier decades, therefore, was due to the quest for cheaper and more convenient land.

There were several concerted migrations to the cheap lands of western states. In 1874 seven families from this locality went in covered wagons to Clearwater, Nebraska. About 1878 many French Canadians of this region emigrated to Kansas, where they built or took part in the settlement of several towns, chiefly Concordia, Clyde, and St. Joseph. In 1885 about ten families from the parish of Maple Grove and many others from Bourbonnais,

Kankakee, and Irwin went to Kansas and founded Demar. About 1906 twelve families from this region, and a much greater number from Kankakee, Manteno, St. George, and especially St. Anne, settled near Marshall, Minnesota. In recent decades this mobility has taken the form of urban migration.

The data in Table XII show the migration to other farm lands, especially those located in western states. By the year 1870,

TABLE XII
MOBILITY OF FRENCH CANADIAN LANDHOLDERS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS
IN FOUR SECTIONS OF LAND

Decades	Direction of Movement		Total Number of Landholders at Specified Dates
	In	Out	
1866-1870	5	10	21
1871-1880	6	10	21
1881-1890	4	5	21
1891-1899	6	4	25
1900-1909	4	4	27
1910-1919	2	5	23
1920-1930	2	0	20
Total	29	38	

ten of the twenty-one French Canadian landholders in a four-section sample adjacent to Maple Grove had sold out and moved away. By the year 1880, ten of the landholders of 1870 had left. Eight went in search of new land and two went to the city. Thus until 1880, this area was one of temporary settlement. It is evident that the mobility of landholders was greatest during the period when the search for new land was in progress, that is, from 1866 to 1880. Since then the mobility of heads of families has decreased. From 1880 to 1910 there were no special conditions, as there had been in the preceding period, to stimulate mobility. Since 1920 nine-tenths of the population of this group has been permanent. In the recent decades the moves both to and from this community have usually been shorter in distance than those in the earlier decades. Movements into and out of the community affect the permanency of the group organization. Movements within the community involve a realignment of neighborhoods.

A further index of mobility is provided by land transfer. A sample of this is supplied by the data of transfers of the farms on five sections (Table XIII). Not all the individuals involved in these transfers left this community. Those who did are counted in the preceding table. The next table includes the land transfers between persons within the group, as well as between these and outsiders. These data indicate that the fluctuations in the samples studied coincide with fluctuations of general economic conditions.

TABLE XIII
LAND TRANSFERS IN FIVE SECTIONS

Decades	French Canadians or Belgians to French Canadians or Belgians*		French Canadians or Belgians to Others	Others to French Canadians	Between Others	Total
	Within Family	Outside Family				
1866-1870	6	12	1	3	3	25
1871-1880	4	9	5	5	1	24
1881-1890	1	7	0	3	1	12
1891-1900	4	11	2	0	0	17
1901-1910	9	14	1	2	1	27
1911-1920	13	20	1	1	1	36
1921-1930	3	1	0	0	0	4
Total	40	74	10	14	7	145

*Practically all in this area are French Canadians

The total number of transfers declined from 1866 to 1890, due to the gradual decline in the search for new land. From 1890 to 1930 the number of land transfers has followed the general trend. From 1890 to 1920 there was a steady increase, due to urban migration, coupled with the rising value of land. Since the depression in 1921, the number of land transfers has fallen from the peak to the lowest point of the entire period from 1866 to 1930. This decline in land turnover follows the decline in land values and the general agricultural depression.

The data of Tables XIII and XIV indicate only gross factors, not the degree of success or failure in making adjustments to the competitive and cultural environment. Table XIV records the manner of adjustment to the competitive or economic order adopted by 237 individuals of four generations. The most frequent methods of adjustment are seen to vary from one gener-

TABLE XIV
FORMS OF ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT OF 237 INDIVIDUALS BELONGING TO FOUR GENERATIONS

Adjustments	Generations								Total	
	1		2		3		4			
	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent	Num-ber	Per Cent
Remained on land	13	34	33	46	37	32	6	46	89	37
Acquired land in adjacent areas	8	22	9	13	19	17	0	0	36	15
Migrated to a distance	13	34	18	26	14	15	0	0	45	19
Migrated to the city	4	10	12	15	44	36	7	54	67	29
Total	38	100	72	100	114	100	13	100	237	100

ation to the next. In the first generation, 34 per cent remained on the land and 34 per cent emigrated to new lands, participating in the general westward movement. In the second generation, 46 per cent remained on the land and 26 per cent sought new lands. In the fourth generation again the same ratio stayed in the community. None sought new lands, but instead, 54 per cent moved to villages and cities. For the four generations, 37 per cent remained on the land in the community. It is evident that these ways of adjustment show a relation to the general economic conditions. Those of the first generation had readier access to new land than did their descendants. The second generation prospered because there was a general rise in land values and because farming conditions were good. The third generation met the new competition by migrating to the city.

In the main, success in competition is here found to be cumulative through the generations. This may be seen by the increasing size of land holdings and the decreasing number inheriting land. Table XV shows wide diversity in the acreage acquired by different individuals. In 1870, 78 per cent of the farms comprised in a sample of four sections varied in size from twenty to eighty acres. In 1930 only 41 per cent of the farms were in this group. The ratio of the farms twenty acres or less, was largest in 1900, due to divisions of farms for the heirs. After that date, farms of this size decreased, while the larger ones increased rapidly, both in number and ratio.

There seems to have been no correlation between economic opportunity and remaining on the land. This fact may be expected because there are often unlike responses to similar opportunities providing individuals have not been reared in a group which esteems agricultural pursuits. The degree of correlation between economic opportunity and staying on the land is shown in Table XVI, in which the ways of adjustment made by 132 individuals of three generations are classified according to inheritance or non-inheritance of land. Of 44 males of the second generation, 17, or 39 per cent, inherited land. Of this number 9 retained their inheritance and 8 did not. Of the 27, or 61 per cent, who inherited no land, 11 left and 16 stayed to become owners, tenants or laborers. Of the 77 males of the third generation, 26, or 34 per cent, inherited land, of these, 14 remained on the farms. Of the

51 who inherited no land, 29 remained to become owners, tenants and laborers. The individuals of the fourth generation are not old enough to make the table conclusive, but the data are in line with the general trend. The summary column shows that 132 individuals belonging to the three designated generations, 36 per cent, inherited land, of these, 58 per cent remained. Of the 64 per cent who inherited no land, 56 per cent remained as owners, tenants, or laborers.

From these figures it is evident that there is no invariable association between non-inheritance and leaving the land. However, as shown in the table, most of those who remained on the land became tenants and laborers and have a high degree of mobility within, as well as outside of, the vicinity. In this way, therefore, the non-inheritance of land has affected the permanency of the population and thus of the social organization of the community.

To account for the continuation of residence on the land, however, we must look for other factors than that of economic opportunity or inheritance of land. Various elements have been involved, including individual ambitions and the conditioning supplied by the family and by individual experiences and ambitions, as well as the peculiar culture traits brought by the settlers. Thus a few raised the economic scale of their families, but the children of other prosperous farmers rebelled against the life on the farm, neglected their work and lost their inheritance in the economic depression. Others have neither inherited nor acquired land and have worked as little as possible, yet are contented with their achievements and are proud of their children or of their ancestors. Family ties have kept some of the families on small farms in order that relatives might be near one another; but this is comparatively rare. The mobility of farm owners and tenants is high, a large ratio moving annually.

The causes of mobility among the inhabitants of the hamlet and the adjacent farming area have been different from those of the farmers not directly involved in the occupations within the hamlet. These occupations and the mobility of the residents in this central area by ten-year periods are given in Tables XVII and XVIII. Several points are indicated by an analysis of these

TABLE XVI
FORMS OF ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT ACCORDING TO INHERITANCE AND NON-INHERITANCE OF LAND, BY GENERATIONS

Tenure of Land	Generations							
	2		3		4		Total	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Inherited land	17	8	26	34	5	45	48	3 ^c
Left land	3		12		0		20	
Only retained inheritance	6		6		5		9	
Increased holdings			8		0		19	
Inherited no land	27	61	51	66	6	55	84	64
Left land	11		22		4		37	
Acquired land	8		6		0		14	
Rented	5		12		1		18	
Hired out	3		11		1		15	
Total	44	100	77	100	11	100	132	100

TABLE XVII
NUMBER AND MOBILITY OF RESIDENTS OF MAPLE GROVE AND
ADJOINING FARMS BY DECADES, 1860-1930

Decades	Number and Direction of Movements		Total Number of Householders at the Beginning of the Respective Decades
	In	Out	
1860-1869	9	9	19
1870-1879	9	8	21
1880-1889	6	3	24
1890-1899	18	6	34
1900-1909	12	12	29
1910-1919	11	17	22
1920-1930	6	11	14
Total	71	66	

TABLE XVIII
OCCUPATIONS OF RESIDENTS OF MAPLE GROVE AND ADJOINING
FARMS AT DECENNIAL DATES

Occupation	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Farm owners	13	11	4	4	7	6	5	2
Renters	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Laborers	0	1	2	2	4	7	6	4
Retired farmers and widows	0	0	4	5	10	12	5	4
Building trades	2	3	5	5	2	1	0	0
Storekeepers	2	3	2	2	3	2	1	1
Saloonkeepers	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0
Blacksmiths	0	0	2	1	1	1	0	0
Physicians	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	0
Miscellaneous	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Total	20	21	22	22	33	34	21	14

data In the period 1860-1900 there was a gradual growth of population, due to colonization and to the growing up of the second generation Since 1900 there has been a rapid decline

Almost all the first settlers were farmers by vocation, and there was little difference in economic status As the population grew, changes took place By 1880 the farmers began to retire In 1910 three-fourths of the householders of the hamlet were farmers who had retired in favor of their sons but who still continued to work part time on their own or neighboring farms After 1910 farmers who retired moved instead to the

nearby villages and towns where they had many friends of their own nationality and language, and where more conveniences were available

The number of persons engaged in the building trades (carpenters, plasterers, wheelwrights, and cabinet makers) correlates with the building program of Maple Grove. The first shelters were log cabins. About 1890 these were replaced by frame houses. Toward the close of the century, when persons of the second generation had reached maturity, two additions were made to the hamlet (which was incorporated in 1894) by the local speculators in real estate. The period between 1894 and 1905 was the period of greatest growth. However, by this time several of the carpenters of the first generation had retired or had died, making it necessary to bring skilled workmen in from other towns. Since 1910 there has been no work for carpenters in this decadent hamlet.

The growth in the number of the common laborers was caused by the differential accumulation of land, a considerable proportion of the second generation receiving no inheritance. These came to live in or near Maple Grove and went to the surrounding farms to work.

The number of business men has followed the changes in the general population of this area. Other trades likewise record the invasion of the local life organization by outside influences. Blacksmiths left when automobiles came in, about 1910. The trade of weaving ended in 1895 with the death of the only man who had carried on this trade. Until 1912 this hamlet had at least one resident physician, and for a while, two. Since 1856 the parish has been served successively by twelve different priests.

This area has not been able to provide occupations for the children of its inhabitants. Of 46 pioneers' children who reached maturity here, 25 left the village, of 80 grandchildren of the first settlers, 65 left the community.

CHAPTER X

THE FAMILY

The French Canadian family of this area is characterized by a high degree of sentimental attachment. Individuals give their allegiance to their family and kinsmen, rather than to their neighbors and fellow villagers, toward whom they exhibited competition rather than cooperation. The solidarity of the family is a result of traditions and of the participation of its members in common ideas and activities. These activities are chiefly (1) gaining a livelihood, (2) religious observances, (3) amusements, and (4) ceremonial events of especial significance for the family. The elements in some of these activities are peculiar to the French Canadians in that they are not found in the immediate vicinal population.

All of the members of the family participate in work on the farm. At the age of six or seven the child is taught to do the few tasks of which he is then capable. The women have always worked in the field when they could be spared from their regular household duties. A few of them still plow and cultivate corn and about half of them aid in husking corn and shocking grain. They also attend to the poultry and churning.

The family is the religious unit. It pays for a family pew and contributes to the support of the church. Religious practices and attitudes are transmitted in the family. Persons of the third generation who are heads of families have retained the custom of having family prayers and rosary every evening. Although their sons have not continued this practice, most of them do repeat the rosary every night during Lent. The saying of grace before meals was formerly customary. This has also died out in most families. One of the third generation explains: "We did it at first, but when we had guests we didn't want to, so we always say it to ourselves."

The ceremony of the paternal blessing on New Year's morning prevailed in Canada and among the immigrants of the first generation. This ceremony, which now persists in only a few families, is as follows

The children attend the New Year's feast prepared by the parents and, as each enters the parental door, he kneels before the father (who is holding the Bible in his hand) and says, "Bless me father" The father then gives his blessing. The strength of this folkway in its old setting is suggested by the statement of an immigrant who came from Quebec in 1900 He said "If I didn't come to get my father's blessing he would cry all the rest of his life." This custom is still observed by many families of Bourbonnais and a few in other nearby French Canadian villages, though it seems to have disappeared at Maple Grove, being discontinued as the old folks passed away "Mother doesn't believe in it, she says it isn't necessary," reported one of the younger generation

Customarily the amusements of the family have been participated in by those of all ages They have all enjoyed the same games, dances, stories, songs, refreshments, tobacco, and drinks, and now all listen to the radio together These amusements are indulged in at the time of family reunions, which take place at week-ends, and on festive days and especially New Year's, the principal French Canadian ceremonial holiday At this time the children and grandchildren come from near and far to the home of the oldest paternal "head of the family" These family gatherings usually begin with a lunch at midnight or soon after and last all day In the olden times "we'd go around and wake up people, from house to house Festivities began at midnight and lasted three days It was a family affair There were thirteen in our family Our father would give us his blessing on New Year's and we'd all come to be first to get it We'd celebrate one day here at our house, the next day at my uncle's, then take a day of rest, and next go some other place in the same family, sometimes it would take a week" Another says "My uncle would come from Momence with oxen, he'd get here and turn his oxen into the prairie"

Now the children come in automobiles, and from greater distances On New Year's day, 1930, the sons and daughters who belong to the fourth generation came from points in Illinois and Indiana and other states, for this chief family reunion New Year's gifts are bestowed, for this day holds the place of esteem among Canadians (as well as the French and Belgians from the

old country) occupied by Christmas among the Germans, English, and Americans. Those of the third generation observe Christmas also, by giving presents, but they arrange it so that some of the presents are reserved for New Year's day. Their fathers gave presents only on New Year's.

Among the pioneers and to some extent among their children, house parties or dances were a favorite occasion for social participation. These events were attended by families as a unit. From two to seven families gathered at some home where they engaged in the customary activities—dancing, playing cards and games, singing, telling stories, eating and drinking. It is characteristic of the French Canadian culture that young and old to a large extent enjoy the same pastimes. In keeping with their traditions, the settlers deemed it necessary to chaperon the young people and rode in the back of the wagon. But this custom did not continue long. When buggies came into use there was no room for the older people. When the dance was transferred to public halls parents often accompanied their daughters, if there was no one else to take them. Older people continued to attend until about 1900, when their favorite quadrilles, polkas, and jigs were replaced by modern dances. Thereafter they went only on special occasions, such as wedding anniversary dances.

Birth, marriage, and death—crises directly concerning the family—are mediated by certain traditional activities or ceremonies. Until twenty years ago, baptism was usually celebrated by a *snack*,⁶ or a great feast, in honor of the child, especially if it were the first born. All the relatives and the *parrain* (godfather) and *marraine* (godmother) were present. A keg of beer was formerly considered a necessary provision for the occasion. "It was a great honor to be a *parrain* or a *marraine*." The sponsor would pay for the baptism, give the child a present at the time and on the following New Year's, and give him his own name, by which he always called him. This celebration has now lost its importance, only the sponsors are invited to the dinner and always after a mass.

In Canada, a courtship was a brief affair. When a young man had visited a young woman three times, under strict chaperonage,

⁶The etymology of this word is unknown. Since it does not occur in any French dictionary, it is here spelled according to English phonetics.

he either had to declare a serious intention or discontinue his attentions. If he chose the former course, he asked the consent of his father, who if he granted his son's wish, visited the girl's father and made the arrangements for the dowry and the marriage.

Among the sons and daughters of the first settlers of Maple Grove the period of courtship was not limited to three visits. However, it was still strictly supervised, the mother staying with the young couple to maintain propriety. The youth asked the consent of his own parents and of the fiancée's parents. But the young people of this generation were free to arrange for the marriage themselves and the demands for a dowry assumed a minor place. It depended largely upon the wants and needs of those who were about to start housekeeping and farming, and was sometimes given after the marriage. The girls might be equipped with linens, a cow and chickens, or furniture and money, the boys received horses and implements.

Marriage was an economic enterprise for which considerable preparation had to be made. Those of the first generation who married in this country, and a few of the second, took sufficient time before the marriage to make their household equipment. While the girl sewed quilts, the boy, skilled, as all the Canadians were, in handicraft, made the furniture, "a high-backed rocking chair for his wife to dress in, a smaller chair for himself, six dining chairs, one special long bench, a table and cupboard, a wooden bowl, a wooden spoon, and a butter ladle."

Among those of the third generation courtship was sometimes conducted under the same supervised conditions as that of their fathers and mothers had been, but now the place of courting was not always the home. Often it was the dance hall. In most cases it was no longer considered necessary for the young man to ask the consent of his own or the girl's father. The mother was usually the medium of communication for the desires of the young people. If there was any opposition from the father, she could often be depended upon to intervene for the young people. Now if dowries are given, they are usually gifts of money.

When the young people of the fourth generation engage in courtship at the home of the girl they are not chaperoned, the

mothers say "It's too bad if you can't trust your children," and they mildly criticize their own parents for their strict supervision

Relatives and friends here, as in Canada, have always honored the betrothed by frequent "surprise parties," now called "showers." These are conducted either at the home of the bride, or at the dance hall, whither the couple are invited for a dance and a present (which they must acknowledge in the traditional manner). Until thirty years ago, members of the neighborhood "bouquet ring" would give a silver set, center table, or something of equal value.

The greatest celebration accompanying marriage is the wedding dance. This takes place soon after the wedding. In Canada, the festivities lasted for a week. In this country, the dance never continued for more than two nights, and in most cases it was limited to one. In early times dances were held at the home of either bride or groom. All the relatives and friends came, each bringing a present for the bridal couple. Every one awaited their arrival to lead the *grande promenade*. Then the dancing and convivialities began. At midnight the host and relatives set out the feast. Before sitting down at the table, the bride and groom were required to sing.

Later the wedding dance was transformed from a family and kinship affair into a community activity. About twenty years ago festivities were transferred to the dance hall. Now the wedding dance has become a public attraction. Everyone in the community and many from neighboring villages come to join in the merry-making. In 1929 one bridegroom gave a dance in each of three towns within a short period. Until five years ago, dances given by local couples were always held in the hall at Maple Grove. Now they are usually given at larger villages. Public wedding dances are now common in all the towns which have a considerable proportion of French people. The non-French have adopted the custom to a considerable extent, and the wedding dance is gaining in popularity throughout this region. Announcements are made in the newspapers and advertisements placed in store windows.

When the dance was transferred to public halls it developed

into a profit-making enterprise and the expense of hiring the hall and orchestra prompted the solicitation of funds from those who came. The names of contributors and amounts are set down in a book which is inspected by the bride and groom. After paying for the orchestra and the hall, the couple keep the remainder. The amount so derived depends on the number of the couple's friends and on the groom's own reputation for generosity on such occasions. Relatives of each couple compete to secure the largest purse. The competition is especially keen if there are several dances near the same date. Otherwise the rates of the public dance hall are customary, though giving the donations is voluntary.

With the commercialization of the dance, a few of the ceremonies have disappeared or are falling into disuse. For example, the *grande promenade* is seldom held now. The dancers do not wait for the bride and groom, who delay their appearance until later in the evening, when they slip in unobtrusively. The couple are no longer called upon to sing. Presents are not bestowed at the dance, and the "feast" takes place in a restaurant after the dance.

All the members of the family participate in celebrating the twenty-fifth and fiftieth wedding anniversaries, which are commemorated by a mock ceremony at the church, a dinner for relatives and friends, and a dance. The anniversary dance has gone through the same evolution as the wedding dance—from a private to a public affair. In the spring of 1930 two fiftieth wedding anniversary dances were given on two successive evenings by two old farmers of Maple Grove, who had been married on the same day. A description in the words of one of these men shows the nature of the dance and of the attitudes toward it. "I went to the priest and got married over, the same as I did fifty years ago. Then I had a dinner here for the children, friends, and priest, then at night we went to Clifton—rented a hall for the dance. We had the dances different nights so we could go to both. We had square dances—and some dance!—polkas and all kinds, the young folks danced the round dance. There was a big crowd from here and some from Chicago. We danced all night."

The activities occasioned by the death of a member of the family are engaged in by all the surviving kinsmen, close friends, and neighbors. It is customary for a representative of each family of long acquaintance to be present at the wake. Although this is a Catholic ceremony, its observance varies according to the nationality. The French Canadian practices differ, for example, from the Irish in this region, who celebrate the occasion by smoking, drinking, and singing. The French serve a lunch and tea, and smoke their pipes, but keep silent and sober.

Owing to the comparatively slight organization of the neighborhood, these social activities of this vicinity have been preserved and transmitted chiefly in the family. Since these various activities are shared by all members of the family, children are inculcated with the beliefs and moral ideas which are traditionally held by the group. By joining the rest of the family in its practical, ceremonial, and hedonistic activities, children learn how to work, be festive, and indulge in the pursuits which are provided in their traditions. For example, the production and use of tobacco, wine, and beer at home have traditionally been family activities. The raising of tobacco for personal consumption, which is universal among the French in Canada, was continued by the settlers, their sons, and a few of their grandsons of the present generation. Every man smokes a pipe, and children are encouraged to acquire the habit at an early age—as soon as they wish to.

Traditionally most of the French Canadian families have also made wine, and a few have made beer at home. The children, as well as their parents, drink. On special occasions, such as New Year's, wine is served at feasts as the *petits-coups*.

At present children are given wide latitude in seeking amusements outside the home. This freedom, or laxity, has evolved gradually, the change having coincided with the transfer of the dance from the home to public halls. Since the transfer occurred gradually it was accompanied by little conflict. In most cases the children of the four generations studied met no situation which caused them to break away from their training.

Family solidarity is indicated by pride in the family, conspicuously exhibited by the members of this group. Children and

parents are proud of each other. Children show it in their anxious desire to have their friends know their parents, the latter show it in telling strangers about the accomplishments of their children, especially in business and in marriage. The strength of family ties is again revealed in the expressions of affection between members of the family. These expressions frequently take the form of kissing at the time of family reunions and particularly on New Year's. No one is left out, before anything else can be done, everyone must kiss and be kissed. While this is a social ritual, the attitudes may be inferred to correspond to the overt social behavior. The ritual at least is indicative of an attitude of affection prescribed in their culture.

The bonds between more distant relatives are not so strong as those between the members of the same family, i.e., the marriage and sibling group, but are at least more demonstrative than is the rule in the general population. This is revealed in an observation made by one of the young women concerning her non-French husband. "Why, he doesn't even know his cousins." There are also occasional marriages of first and more distant cousins, and cousin marriages are not taboo except in a few families who have had more contact with the wider culture. The Canadian French keep up relations with their relatives, close and distant. In their frequent trips west they make it one of their chief concerns to visit their relatives, including second and third cousins, who have migrated to these regions.

CHAPTER XI

WORK AND PLAY.

Work and play, which have been combined in so many activities of the French Canadian farmers, must be considered together. The chief activity of this nature is the "bee," in which neighbors cooperate in doing some special work for each other. This is a form of cooperation, an exchange of labor, but not a division of labor. The "bee" was common to the culture of both Canadians and Americans, although certain elements differed. In Canada, among customs now disappearing, Hopkins¹ mentions "The *Corvees*, or 'bees,' for the doing of some special work in which the aid of a number of neighbors is sought, *epluchettes*, or corn-shucking, and the *brayages*, or flax-beating." These were usually accompanied by dances and festivities. Because some of the economic pursuits were not transplanted to this settlement, some of the sociability chores were not reinstated here. But various tasks afforded occasion for this combination of work and play.

It is said of the pioneers of Maple Grove, "The first thing they did when they came from Canada was to help each other husk corn. Each farmer that was through huskin' gave a supper and a dance, and so on around the cooperative circle." Always associated with the "bee" is the paying off of the obligation for such work by a celebration, usually a dinner or *snack*, and the customary amusements—telling stories, playing, dancing, and singing old Canadian songs. Besides the husking "bees," "bees" for making quilts, sewing carpet rags, dressing poultry for shipment, knitting straw hats, hauling stone, chopping wood, and shelling corn were held by members of the second generation until three or four decades ago.

In this community the knitting of straw was exclusively a French Canadian art. At harvest time a group of twenty-five or thirty women would go from farm to farm picking out all the best straws and tying them into bundles. During the long winter

¹J. C. Hopkins, *French Canada and the Saint Lawrence*. Philadelphia, 1913.

evenings they gathered at each other's homes and knit the straw into hats, for their own use and for sale at nearby markets. This art provided an important industry until about thirty-five years ago when, as one of the second generation stated "We bought our straw hats." Thus conformity to the surrounding culture was responsible for loss of this distinctive art. However, some women of the second generation continued to make straw hats until a few years ago.

"Bees" for hauling stone, brick, and timber for houses, and for chopping and hauling firewood were common until twenty-five years ago. One of the second generation says "Five or six neighbors would each chop a load of wood and haul it. They'd always have a jug of whiskey. It was work, but a frolic, too." The obligations for hauling stone, timber, and firewood were paid by a feast with "a keg of beer, a gallon of whiskey, wine for the ladies, dancing, and card-playing."

"Bees" disappeared here as they did elsewhere, partly because of the lack of permanency of the population and partly because of the general changes in the method of production and distribution of commodities. Poultry is no longer dressed for shipment in the old manner. Quilts are ready-made. Little building has been done in Maple Grove for the last twenty-five years, so that hauling stone and timber is no longer necessary. Since wood is scarce, there are no more chopping and hauling bees. *Snacks* held in connection with "bees," disappeared with the latter. Those held in connection with special events, as birthdays, weddings, and wedding anniversaries existed generally until these events were transferred from the home to the dance hall, about twenty years ago.

Threshing is one of the collective work activities which was not at any time associated with the festivities of the "bee." This may be due to the fact that threshing was only recently introduced. Until a few years ago, there were two threshing machines in this area, each of which threshed about 1000 acres of grain annually. The work group or threshing ring numbered about twenty-five. Now the machines are smaller and more numerous, so that the threshing ring comprises only ten or twelve men.

Various activities were conducted independently of cooperative work tasks. In Canada the French Canadians are character-

istically fond of amusements and though reasonably industrious do not begrudge time taken away from work for pleasurable activities ²

Winter has always been their chief social season, though amusements were not restricted to this part of the year. Between Christmas and Ash Wednesday they pay frequent "surprise" visits going in large parties to each other's homes.

The playing of games has been a feature of most neighborhood gatherings at which young people were present. A variety of kissing games which were brought from Canada persisted until ten years ago. The following are well-known country pastimes: Post Office, Who's Got the Button?, Measure the Ribbon, and others. There were also guessing games and riddles. Among the favorite games of the first and second generations was *la brusque Bézique*. *Bézique* is a cosmopolitan game, but has been, and still is played, only by the French Canadians in this area. Other games were borrowed from the vicinal population. Their favorite imported folk dances were the French Four, the quadrille, and the jig. The introduction of the so-called modern dances occurred during the period of youth of the third generation. But on such occasions as wedding anniversaries, when the younger people dance the modern steps, persons of the second generation still perform their old favorites, which they consider to be more æsthetic. In various respects the old pastimes have been made to conform to the American ways both in name and in practice.

Singing is done either by a group, or by an individual of recognized ability who entertains the rest of the group. Talent for singing or playing an instrument is a trait much esteemed by the French Canadians and Belgians. The latter are greatly admired for their musical ability and locally are called "great singers." In pioneer times all nationalities sang their native songs. The French Canadians continued to sing their songs at public gatherings through the lifetime of the second generation. Although persons of this generation began to sing many American songs, those of the third generation sing none of their ancestors' songs and only a few of any origin.

²A. G. Bradley, *Canada in the Twentieth Century*. Westminster Constable, 1903, p. 16.

One type of house party which was peculiar to the French Canadian culture was the "bouquet" party. After the husking season, about thirty young men who belonged to the group collected money among themselves and presented it, ceremonially, attached to a "bouquet" of paper, to the lady whose house they had chosen, chiefly because of its capaciousness, for a party. If she accepted—and it would have been an insult not to have done so—she would prepare a *snack*, or great feast, with which she "paid the bouquet" during the slack time in January or February.

The bouquet party did not survive the first generation, but its name was passed on, apparently, to those of the second and a few of the third generation who used it to designate a *snack* which celebrated the birthday, wedding, or wedding anniversary of a member of the "bouquet ring." The members assessed themselves to pay for a gift such as a set of silverware or a piece of furniture for the individual honored. Although some of the forms of play and festivity still persist as folkways, various changes have taken place. For example, story telling, which was once a common feature of neighborhood gatherings, has disappeared as a form of amusement. Dances are now carried on in the public dance hall, largely because of the unwillingness to "tear up" the modern house. In renting houses landlords exacted from prospective tenants a promise to give no dances, as a pre-condition for renting.

A large part of the amusements of the old neighborhood have now become formally organized. Entertainment for most of the males of the neighborhood is provided by two lodges: the Woodmen (1895-1915) and the Catholic Foresters (since 1905). These organizations are conducted for insurance benefits and sociability, which is supplied by their business meetings, initiations, and picnics, occurring about once a month. The Woodmen transferred to the Clifton Lodge in 1919, the local chapter of the Catholic Foresters still exists. Other organized amusements are designed for both the sexes and all age classes. Among these are community picnics, the model for which was adopted from the general culture during the youth of the second generation, and which became the chief form of amusement for the young people of the third generation. Picnics were organized by one of the local lodges or by some of the other cliques, for every Sunday

afternoon during the summer months and for most church and national holidays. The celebrations of these holidays are similar, in the main, but vary according to their peculiar traditions. The chief element of all, however, is the picnic.

Independence Day has been celebrated from pioneer times by all the nationalities of this region. They regarded it as "a great day." One person of the second generation reports: "We'd each take a rack and put seats all around and go to the woods. They'd have beer and whiskey on a bar there, they'd fight, too." The celebration of Independence Day remained a community activity until five years ago. Its disappearance was due to the decline in population and the greater attraction of the celebration in nearby towns.

Decoration Day was celebrated by picnics only during the decade preceding 1918. Since that date picnics have given way to ceremonies in the cemetery honoring those of the parish who died in the service of the government during the World War.

The observance of St. Patrick's Day was adopted from the adjacent Irish at least as far back as the period of youth of the second generation. It has usually been celebrated by picnics, and for the last fifteen years by dances, at which green dresses are worn. The holiday, however, is not celebrated by a mass, as it is among the Irish (since St. Patrick is the patron saint of Ireland).

Activities at the picnics included feasting and drinking, dancing, baseball games, riding the merry-go-round, running races, horse races, and on the "Fourth," balloon ascensions. Horse-racing as a folkway was brought here from Canada. In the early days of Bourbonnais, Noel Le Vasseur, its founder, brought a number of race horses from Canada. Others followed his example and horse-racing became the chief amusement at Bourbonnais. This was done on a much smaller scale at Maple Grove. Bareback races existed here until the coming of the automobile. Shooting matches, with the usual prizes, persist.

Other community sports were adopted from the American culture. Maple Grove, as well as neighboring villages, supported a baseball "nine" from about 1880 to 1925, and tournaments were conducted every Sunday afternoon. When this sport was well supported it contributed considerably to the local morale.

The organized activities also include the dances now held at the public dance halls. Although this hall was built in 1875 its use did not become prevalent until about 1890. In some cases this was due to opposition of the parents to association by the young people outside the control of the home. However, most parents were willing to take their daughters to the hall. The chief objection to the dance hall was the added expenditure which it involved. But when modern frame houses replaced the old shanties and cabins and manufactured furniture replaced the home-made type the owners were glad to keep their floors and furniture undamaged and to avoid the trouble of cleaning after the dances. Dances at the hall were given by a club of about ten men who rented it for a year. Until 1900 dances were held every two weeks; between that date and 1920, every week, then every two weeks again and finally but once a month until 1929, when they were given up as a regular event, though they continued as wedding and anniversary celebrations. The decline of the regular schedule of dances at the local hall coincided with the construction of hard roads leading to larger villages and the decline in population and especially the decrease in the number of young people. The rural neighborhood has become mobilized, and in the process it has become urbanized while its members have become individuated.

CHAPTER XII

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

The social organization of this community has been characterized, especially in recent decades, by a lack of homogeneity and cohesion. This deficiency in corporate action has been due to: (1) The geographic distribution of the individuals concerned; (2) their high mobility, (3) the heterogeneity of the residents or of their culture, and (4) the type of activities specified by traditions as occasions for collective action. The efficiency or inefficiency of the social organization in turn, has been a factor in the perpetuation of the distinctive culture, promotion of practical interests, and the control over the behavior of the individuals concerned.

The form of land settlement adopted in America did not contribute toward an efficient group organization. The manner of laying out farms, while placing the farmer close to his land, tended to distribute residences in such a way as to lessen social contacts between the inhabitants. Furthermore, the fact that the migrants who had formed the Canadian agricultural village community settled in different localities, tended to lessen their ability to act upon corporate aims. However, propinquity of residence has been an important factor in determining lines of association and cooperation, for the volume of attendance at the local institutions was determined in part by the radius of attraction under existing means of locomotion. Propinquity was also a factor in determining marriage selection, as, for example, inter-marriage between unlike culture groups.

The character of the social organization in this community has also been affected by the high mobility discussed in a preceding chapter. The impermanence of the population has disrupted neighborly exchanges and impeded the development of an intricate social structure. Constant and intimate association is a necessary condition for the maintenance of a spontaneous social organization. While the *rapport* established by previous association was sufficient to maintain sentimental bonds for a generation between these settlers in widely scattered districts and

regions, the local cooperative practices did not develop beyond the simpler forms of exchange of labor and aid in cases of want.

The heterogeneity of population also contributed to the lack of like-mindedness, especially with reference to corporate welfare. The diversity of languages and of other cultural items was an obstacle to free communication. While these handicaps were rapidly reduced, this earlier lack of homogeneity among the settlers was later succeeded by other types of social differentiation and new sources of centrifugal tendencies.

Notwithstanding the differences in background among the pioneers, certain inherent conditions were conducive to *rapprochement*. The societal status of the settlers was much alike, irrespective of nationality differences. All had to meet the same conditions and often relied on each other for help in facing them. Differences in amount of wealth, therefore, were not decisive in social differentiation. The pioneer hardships were common to all. All had to provide for food, clothing, and shelter by their own industry. They ate home-grown and free indigenous products: hominy, sorghum, barley coffee, nuts, and berries. They wore homespun and lived in board-covered shanties or in log cabins till about 1885. Until agricultural implements were available field work was done by hand. The first settlers hauled their corn a distance of twelve miles and their wheat a distance of sixteen miles. They often had to carry the sacks of wheat over the sloughs and reload. Perhaps the greatest hardship of the first years was the "ague," or malaria, caused by the abundance of mosquitoes which carried the malarial parasite. Very few escaped this disease.

However, with the passing of pioneer conditions social evaluation of the possession of wealth produced a considerable degree of social division. Difference in accumulation of land has been a factor in the formation of neighborhood groupings and has determined the alignment of cliques. It has also been a force in producing cultural heterogeneity within this area. Those who have acquired more wealth than others have had wider contacts and have participated more in the general culture. Their wider contacts, in turn, have helped them to accumulate more wealth. In every one of the cases studied in this area, amount of education, formal or informal, and accumulation of wealth are

correlated. Both seem to have been subject to a cumulative growth, since the more knowledge a man has, the greater base it forms for accumulation of further knowledge. And on knowledge, apparently, depends where a man's interests lie, whether in the petty disputes of his village or township, or in national and international affairs. Most of the people of Maple Grove have lost interest in their village and have never acquired a sufficient basis for interest in national affairs, but they discuss the township and county elections with some enthusiasm. About three men are well enough versed in national events to be able to discuss intelligently the actions of the Farm Board. This cultural heterogeneity has been one of the apparent factors in the breakdown of group solidarity in this local group.

The possession or non-possession of knowledge and wealth may also be associated with habits and attitudes which were found to be influential in segregating the local population. Thus those who have had similar cultural backgrounds, talk about the same subjects and engage in similar interests. They are, to use Giddings's term, like-minded, and tend to associate. There is a group of such associates, residing along one road east of Maple Grove for a distance of about a mile, except one who lives in the hamlet. None of them work very much. Four of them spend considerable time in fishing. At least three are afraid of storms and horses. The explanation half seriously given by the more industrious people of the area is that those who live by the river become lazy and prefer fishing to farming. Another man, because of his greater accumulation of knowledge and interests in the general culture, is considerably isolated from the remainder of the community. He has been the dispenser of advice, particularly on legal matters, to his neighbors. He never loafs in the store with the others, he says that their petty jealousies and gossip annoy him. The formation of such cliques has been a force destroying the solidarity of the group. Those who belong to different universes of discourse do not form a close social organization.

The number and kind of activities promoted by associates affects both the form and duration of their cohesion or organization. The traditions of these people provided many forms of participation in which the purpose was sociability and hedonistic

satisfaction which in the early years of the settlement served, in a measure, to solidify the group. These activities have gradually changed, as we shall see, so that even these bonds of community organization are weakening or disappearing. The activities referred to included various forms of mutual aid and support of the institutions designed to promote utilitarian, recreational, religious, and other interests.

In the earlier history of the settlement several customary forms of mutual aid prevailed. One of these was the working "bee" in which a number of individuals collectively performed various tasks for one another. No record was kept of the quantity of work done for others in the circle of friends, and the labor was recompensed by some future reciprocity or by entertainment, such as a social gathering or a convivial party. Like-wise labor for the sick or disabled was freely given at all seasons.

Individuals or families in want also were given provisions in keeping with present needs, as measured by frontier standards. By tradition, generosity was enjoined on festive occasions, especially on New Year's. At this season custom prescribed the observance of the *Ignolée*, an old French Canadian folkway. On New Year's eve a party of men in a sleigh or other vehicle went from house to house collecting provisions for the poor families of the parish. At each door they sang an old French Canadian "begging song," were answered by song from within, sang again, and were invited in. Here they first kissed all the girls and then sang, ate, and drank. After they had visited several houses they could eat no more but could always drink, so that by the end of the journey they were very convivial. In this way enough provisions might be collected to supply the wants of indigent families for the rest of the winter. Although the *Ignolée* was solely a French Canadian custom, the French and Belgians from the old country joined their fellow-parishioners in its observance. It persisted until about twenty years ago, that is, through the youth of the third generation. The passing of this folkway indicates the loss of parish solidarity, and a conformity to the surrounding custom. Since 1910 the poor of the parish have been left to the charity of the county.

Corporate action in the form of preventative treatment and improvement in the economic prosperity of members of the group was thus less thoroughly developed than the exchange of labor

and relief of present wants. In one known instance neighborly aid was given in order to save the farms of debtors. This occurred after the Civil War, when one rich resident loaned money to a few war veterans. However, this was not a corporate action arising out of a sense of collective responsibility, it was solely an individual neighborly response. Apparently the traditions transplanted here did not prescribe responsibility by the group for the economic security of the constituent individuals. Consequently success or failure rested with each person or his immediate family. This individualistic schematization of behavior affected the efficiency of the social organization, for it interfered with corporate action in meeting the competitive world.

The economic organization at Maple Grove seems to have been determined by the radius of the wagon haul, rather than by local patriotism or a sense of obligation to the local merchants. Consequently the trade area remained approximately stationary until changes in transportation occurred. Until 1915 Maple Grove supported two or three general stores. At that time the largest store received every week about 100 dozen eggs and thirty pounds of butter and paid for this produce with merchandise. The people usually did their week's trading on Sunday morning after church. However, since 1915 there has been only one store in Maple Grove. Its stock is restricted to a few essentials and its receipts of butter and eggs are small, since only two or three farmers continue to sell to it habitually. The store continues to be a loafing place, especially for the older men who gossip, usually in the French language. These changes have been due to the improvements made in roads and vehicles during the last twenty years, whereby trade has been increasingly diverted to the larger centers. Now the trade area of Maple Grove has been contracted to a one-mile radius, but not all the people living within this distance trade at the local store. Of twenty-three families living within this radius, eight (five of whom have no means of transportation) buy most of their groceries at this hamlet, the other fifteen go to larger villages. Most of the clothing and furniture has been bought at the larger places since the time when such articles ceased to be made at home.

Also several other establishments designed to cater to material and hedonistic interests have existed at these crossroads. These establishments included a saloon (1894-1918), a barbershop, and

pool room (1900-1923), and blacksmith and wood shops (1875-1910) The saloon absorbed much of the income of the population and provided conspicuous means of male conviviality Here most of the men in the trade area came more frequently than to any other institution Social intercourse was facilitated by conversation, singing, card playing, and collective drinking While older men enjoyed conviviality in the saloon, the young men and boys in time gathered increasingly in the pool room In 1923 the operator of the pool room moved to a larger village and established the same business there

The collective activities pertaining to religious observances and church festivities most nearly represented an inclusive community organization Here, as in Canada, the church was the center of the community life, the scene of their weddings, funerals, and religious festivities, the home of their traditions, and the guardian of their ancestral memories Thus the church not only supplemented religious observances in the family, it also supplied collective participation in these observances and facilitated social intercourse Furthermore, it gave expression to the effort to perpetuate the culture of the group, through such means as the parochial school and the celebration of saints' days On St Anne's Day people make the pilgrimage to the saint's shrine, where they seek a cure for their ills This worship was transplanted from Canada, where it had taken place at the shrine of St Anne de Beaupré This custom in turn, had been carried over from Brittany by the first colonists of Canada The fishermen of Brittany celebrate the day of St Anne Doré, their protectress, with great festivities The Day of St John the Baptist, the Patron Saint of French Canadians, is celebrated in towns having a considerable proportion of French Canadians On this day there is a special mass and sermon, as well as a picnic

The church also has been the center for various subsidiary activities, such as the annual bazaars and fortnightly card parties, which were conducted for the benefit of the church by the Sisters of Mercy while they were stationed here (1884-1922), and since then by the Ladies' Aid or Altar Society, which was founded at that time (1922) The bazaars are a means of raising money by selling chances on articles donated for this purpose by members of the parish, and by the sale of dinners Also there are

usually dancing and games. The first bazaar was held for the building of the church in 1874. The first card party was given in 1894, but such entertainment was not given regularly until four years ago. Within the last four or five years card parties for the benefit of the local church have come to be a popular amusement among the older people of Maple Grove. Relatives and friends often come from a distance of fifteen miles to these parties, which are made the occasion for the renewal of old acquaintances. These social events in which people from neighboring towns, as well as members of the parish, participate, are now virtually the only ones surviving at Maple Grove.

The church no longer plays a dominating role in the lives of the people, as it formerly did. This is due to several factors. Among these is the mobility which began in pioneer times. The first concern of the settlers was land rather than the church, and the consequent unsettled conditions inhibited the development of such a church community as had existed in Canada. The present church, which was built in 1874, attracted communicants from a radial distance of about seven miles for a few years, until churches were built at other villages. The present boundaries of the parish lie about three and one-half miles from the church in all directions. However, this institution did not embrace all the residents within the parish bounds. The non-inclusion of the few non-Catholics of this area in the religious community, does not, of course, mean that they were excluded from other community activities.

Although the communicants still attend services on Sundays and on the special church holidays the pious devotions of the first settlers seem not to have survived the first generation. This is indicated by the attendance at church and the support of the convent. Of 18 men of the second generation who are, or have been until recently, members of the parish and concerning whom information is available, 13 attend church regularly, of 17 women, 15 attend regularly, of 21 men of the third generation, 14 attend church regularly, of 19 women of this generation, 17 attend regularly. In these cases the women bring the children. A loss of adherence to the church is also shown by the diminishing attendance at the parochial school established in 1874 and extending to 1922. Only approximately half of the children

the district attended this school, it was said, because of the expense involved. However, since the fee was only fifty cents per month, this probably would not have kept people from sending their children if the church had been supported as it was in Canada.

Other evidences of the weakening of the bonds of this center of community organization are found in the indifference to the communion and participation in the choir. In his sermons the priest tells his parishioners that Maple Grove is spiritually dead, since communions are poorly attended even on New Year's Day, which is their greatest festival. He reminds them that their choir is neglected, although it ought to be well supported by a parish of French Canadians and Belgians, who have a tradition for singing.

An indication of this disintegration of the local church is supplied by the contrast between the religious fervor of the present inhabitants of Maple Grove and that of recent arrivals from Canada. These newcomers, who in respect to religious observances resemble the original settlers here, are considered by individuals of the third and fourth generations to be very religious. While the immigrants' piety is respected by adults it is ridiculed by the fourth generation. The newcomers, on the other hand, think the older residents very lax in their devotion, for example, in their failure to attend all the lenten services.

The prevailing opinion concerning religion seems to be that it is dying out. According to a daughter of the pioneers: "Poor old religion is fading away. It's nice to be religious, but the church won't save you, you have to save yourself. It's good for the young, it helps them to lead righteous lives, but as we grow older we realize that we have to save ourselves."

Another factor in the loss of dominance by the church is the transference of social activities from the neighborhood and community to larger centers of population. For the young people of the first generation the church was the medium of communication through which arrangements were made for house parties and other amusements. Now the occasions for communication between members of the church have disappeared. While the parishioners attend services on Sunday and on special church holidays, they come only to worship and disperse immediately after the services.

Some diminution in prestige of the church has also been due to the short tenure of office by the priests throughout the history of the settlement. From 1856 to the present Maple Grove has had twelve pastors. In consequence of this high mobility there has been a loss of continuity. Also some of the subsidiary organizations of the Church, which depend upon the initiative and preference of the *padre*, have fluctuated with the attitude of the incumbent. For example, under the supervision of the pastor holding office at Maple Grove from 1894 to 1919 these organizations flourished. He secured Sisters of Mercy to teach in the parochial school, authorized the card parties for the church, and encouraged the organization of the women's church societies. But other pastors have not been equally interested in such activities.

The priest no longer holds his earlier dominant place in maintaining social organization. Formerly his function included the maintenance of French Canadian genealogy through the records of the church register, the keeping of the habitants' savings, and the bestowal of blessing at birth, marriage, and death. He also directed amusements, recreations, and social intercourse. Now his functions are more limited, but he still retains several ceremonies. He still blesses the sacramental bread (contributed by the wealthier families of the parish) and distributes it among the people. He still observes the ceremony of blessing the people on New Year's day, and he spoke the midnight mass on Christmas Eve until two years ago when this folkway was abolished by the cardinal, after it had spread to the churches of Chicago where the streets were considered unsafe for pedestrians at this time of the night. There are corresponding changes in the attitudes of the parishioners who no longer touch their hats as a sign of respect when greeting the *padre*. Thus the church, like other local institutions, is waning as a factor in community organization.

An index of this passing of the former integrating forces is provided by the conflicts between the neighbors and their factions. No local organization is at present able to prevent these conflicts by unifying efforts with reference to a corporate aim. Individualizing competitive tendencies have been here noted in connection with economic and political activities.

The economic competition for more and better land began among the first settlers and still exists among their descendants.

The differential accumulation of land seems to have involved various activities of a dissimulative, if not of an exploitative, nature. For example, there is the case of a man who fenced in eighty acres of land to give the impression that he owned it until he had accumulated sufficient capital to buy it. Such methods as these in business transactions have conditioned individuals to attitudes of latent, and even overt, distrust and antagonism. For example, the assumption is often expressed, when anyone of the community has made an unusually profitable land deal, that he has accomplished this by taking advantage of or exploiting the other party to the transaction. Extraordinary success in the accumulation of land is explained in the same way. "I know he didn't get all that land 'honest'" is a common expression.

An incident disclosing this attitude occurred in connection with the installing of a telephone line about thirty years ago. Two local men who organized a cooperative telephone company had obtained subscriptions from most of the local farmers, and had constructed most of the line when a suspicion arose among some of the subscribers that the two promoters were planning to keep the stock themselves, whereas in reality the latter were unwilling to sell stock until they had completed the line. Distrust arose among the illiterate and uneducated towards the leaders who, because of their superior knowledge, were surmised to be cheating their neighbors. Three business men from a neighboring town who were building a line in adjacent territory then took advantage of the situation at Maple Grove to gain control of the local company. They induced several of those who had conceived a distrust of their local leaders to go among their neighbors and persuade them to support the outside interests.

The local enterprisers started a counter propaganda and succeeded in retaining fifty-one per cent of the subscribers. The rival promoters now protested the control of the company in court, and all the adherents of each group, constituting most of the farmers of this parish, appeared in court to oppose one another. When the control was determined to be in the hands of the local men, the forty-nine per cent who had supported the rival enterprisers broke their pledges and subscribed to the outside company. This resulted in the operation of two interlacing

competing telephone lines in this locality. The antagonisms aroused by this conflict have persisted among some of the individuals to the present time.

Conflict also characterizes the political activities of Maple Grove. During the years 1894 to 1928, when this hamlet was incorporated under a charter, the annual elections of officers were usually hotly contested. Candidates were supported by factions between whom much hard feeling was generated, especially among those who were defeated. This antagonism often extended from one election to the next, and thus perpetual strife existed.

Besides the ambition for the honors of holding office, there was apparently another motive for such serious activity on the part of candidates and their supporters. There were certain financial gains which were possible for those who controlled the village funds. A trustee could be paid above the normal rate for his individual services to the community, such as scraping the road or, with his fellow officers, going to the county seat for "legal advice," a practice which professedly seemed necessary to the local office holders.

Perhaps for these reasons taxes were diligently collected. The chief revenue, of course, was derived from the saloon. After the latter had been abolished, the officers attempted to collect taxes. They met opposition from one individual who had sufficient knowledge of law to know that the collection of taxes could not be enforced unless their purpose was specified. He was taken to court, where he was, of course, upheld, and no more attempts at tax collection were made. Such incidents as these have been disintegrating forces in the community.

Lesser tendencies toward self-assertion may not be disruptive, for they are a normal aspect of social organization. Only when rivalry and competition disrupt personal relations in a normal social unit may they be said to be disorganizing factors. Among these minor rivalries a few items may be noted. Families vie with each other at weddings in giving "purses," or gifts of money. There is also rivalry in dress, especially among the young women. During the period of youth of the second generation "waterproof" dresses were in style and a man felt that he had failed to uphold the honor of the family if he could not buy a

waterproof dress for his wife "If you couldn't buy a waterproof dress they laughed at you. A neighbor would say, 'I see your wife got a new waterproof dress. I'm going to buy one for my woman as soon as I sell a load of corn'" The second generation adopted the custom of wearing new dresses on Easter, Christmas, St. John's Day, St. Patrick's Day, Independence Day, Decoration Day, and Labor Day. The young women of the third generation, it is said, required new dresses every three or four weeks and often for each dance. The competition for the most beautiful dress was keen. Some tried to attract admiration by wearing very brightly colored and flowered garments, others, however, who had had more contact with the fashion of the day, thought them to be in "bad taste." There was always a race to be the first to adopt the new styles observed in Kankakee, or to be first to imitate those who had adopted them.

Such minor rivalries show that the process of social differentiation has been under way for several generations. When emulation takes place in reference to a corporate aim of the group the social structure is solidified. But in this group there has been no such impersonal or inclusive objective since the early years of the settlement. Most of the activity has been individualistic, even if it was performed collectively. This want of a sense of corporate responsibility seems to have been influenced by traditions. In addition, various other factors which were inherent in the new environment contributed to the same result. Migration to the city, contacts with the surrounding population and the transfer of business, sociability, and hedonistic activities to the larger villages and urban centers have drained the hamlet's vitality. Competition, prestige, and numbers are against the social organization based on an earlier economy and a local culture.

CHAPTER XIII

SOCIAL CHANGE AND ACCULTURATION

The social groups resident in the area of Maple Grove have undergone various changes in their social organization and their distinctive culture. They have tended to take on the vicinal folkways, and in some cases have contributed items of their own traditions to the general customs of the region. The changes which have taken place in the smaller community, however, cannot be ascribed solely to the contacts between unlike national antecedents. These changes were also due in part to the invasion of urban ways. However, both streams of influence have been involved in the undermining of the local organization here reviewed.

The French Canadians who had had pioneer experience in Canada adjusted most readily to the semi-frontier conditions. But adjustment of all nationalities to each other was aided by the fact that all had common hardships to meet and were often prompted to face them together. There were common emergencies such as sickness, accidents, and the need for exchange of labor. The process of reciprocal adjustment was likewise facilitated by the fact that most of the groups here thrown together had common religious affiliations, for the Belgians, French, Canadians, Irish, and some of the Germans were Catholics. Thus they went to the same church and to the same wakes together and observed the same church holidays.

The first three nationalities although differing in minor lingual peculiarities also have a common language base. Because the French Canadians predominate numerically they in part assimilated the Belgians and others into their speech form and folkways. This made it possible for a member of one nationality to participate in the social activities of the other. A son of English pioneer parents informs us: "We mingled with the French. No lines were drawn. We all play games and sing songs." The Germans joined the "bouquet" rings or parties, which were purely a French Canadian tradition, and which were led by the French Canadians. French Canadians went to Irish and Danish dances

and learned their national steps, while all these nationalities adopted the American dances. There has always been toleration or social mixing between Catholics and non-Catholics, as well as between language groups, in this area. For example, the French Canadians often had some German Protestant youths as participants at their dances. They recognized, but tolerated, the differences in ways such as the non-use of liquor by Protestants.

Assimilation of the general American culture and especially in recent years, of the urban culture, has taken place through (1) use of a common language, (2) education, (3) the reading of newspapers, (4) travel, (5) participation in national crises, (6) business activities, and (7) amusements.

The first essential, or at least the chief convenience, in assimilation, was the breaking down of the language barriers. In the center of the community and immediately surrounding Maple Grove, nearly all of the residents were French Canadians, but on the edges of this area association between language groups was frequent. Those of the first generation never wholly overcame the language difficulty. French was always spoken in the family. Most of the parents have continued to speak it and teach it to their children without any question, but some have done so systematically, justifying themselves by the value of a knowledge of French. Their argument has gained support from the success of three of their sons who went from Maple Grove to the late war and became interpreters in France.

Those of the second generation recall vividly their difficulties in understanding the speech of a neighbor, if he was a German or an Irishman. A Belgian was somewhat easier to comprehend and a Frenchman from France still easier. Most of the persons in the second generation of all nationalities learned English in school, and unless they were completely surrounded by residents of their own nationality, became bilingual and were more able than their fathers had been to cooperate successfully with their neighbors of other national antecedents. The English language became the *lingua franca* of this area. Most of the children of the fourth generation understand, but do not speak, French, even in the family. A few are ashamed to speak it, but most of the people, both parents and children, condemn this attitude, and are proud of their ability to speak two languages.

Most of these settlers who came from Canada were illiterate, for education was not in their traditions. As one of their daughters explains "The French and Belgians were in favor of building schools for in Europe they had all been forced to have education. The Canadians were less interested in education than in the Bible and home work." However, many of the pioneers were anxious that their sons, at least, learn English, because they themselves, and their sons until they had acquired the language, were handicapped in business affairs and in their relation with their non-French speaking neighbors.

The schooling of the youths of the second generation was not satisfactory or effective. Very few of them went beyond the "fifth reader." This was due partly to the fact that the children who had spoken only French before beginning their schooling, and were forbidden to speak their home language at school, found it very difficult to understand their teacher and to gain any help from their fellows. Furthermore, the instruction was not of high quality, either in respect to content or methods. It is said that in the school which was one mile east of Maple Grove and which was attended by a small proportion of French Canadian children, the teacher would frequently abandon instruction and lead the children in a square dance. This shows a contrast with the educational activities of the Belgian pioneers who were comparatively very well educated and were able to send their sons to college.

Among those of the third generation, a majority have gone only through the district school, or until they had reached the minimum school attendance age required by law. Some went through ten or twelve grades of the parochial school. Within the last ten years several children of the third and fourth generations have attended the high school at nearby villages. The children who attended the public school were thereby enabled to participate in other activities. For example, the children of the second and third generations competed with those of other schools of the township for the spelling championship in the so-called "spelling schools," that is, "spelling matches." Once every week throughout the winter the local school either entertained or visited a rival. Assimilation and participation in the general culture thus began at an early age.

A change in social behavior has been induced by activities associated with education in the city, especially among those who

have attended village high schools within the last ten years. English has come to be preferred to French. The young people freely join their fellow students in sports and sociability. Here they have accepted the prevailing modes of behavior, for example, the relatively free relation between the sexes which has developed in the last decade. This pattern has been carried back to the community, where it has been adopted by those who have not attended high school. Also the custom of having "wild parties" has spread from the high schools of the nearby towns to the social activities of the youth of Maple Grove. These "parties" are usually planned for evenings when the parents of one of the group are expected to be absent, since the activities carried on would probably not be sanctioned by the elders.

Another instrument of acculturation and also of urbanization is the newspaper, which made its entrance into Maple Grove during the seventies. Several persons began to subscribe to the county weekly newspaper about 1872, and a weekly Chicago paper about 1880. Those who could not read enough to understand the newspaper had it read to them by their children who were attending the public school. Most of the second generation learned to read and took the newspapers when they set up homes of their own. (See Table XIX.)

The county papers have always been popular, largely because they printed personal items concerning relatives and friends who lived in the neighboring towns. At present the residents who read the local papers discuss county affairs, while those who take the Chicago papers talk more about national and international affairs. The same generalization holds true for the use of the radio. Those who have had more contact with the general culture, listen to the market reports, comic dialogues, and dramatizations of the life of the urban family. However, a few other radio owners "tune in" especially on the popular music, and derive their greatest pleasure from ballads sung to the guitar.

Assimilation was also promoted by participation in the national service during three wars, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and the World War. Those who took part in these wars apparently did so out of a sense of duty to their adopted country, and still enjoy discussing their enlistment and service. People are proud to tell of their relatives who enlisted

TABLE XIX

CRITERIA OF PARTICIPATION IN THE GENERAL CULTURE BY 10 FAMILIES OF THE SECOND AND 13 FAMILIES OF THE THIRD GENERATION

Criteria and Participation of Contact	Generations		Total
	2	3	
Literacy of head of families	5	13	18
Newspaper subscriptions	7	11	18
Chicago	2	5	7
County and other local	5	6	11
Magazine subscriptions	6	10	16
Radio sets	5	11	16
Education of children			
Eight grades	7	4	11
High school	1	5	6
College	1	1	2
Automobiles owned	4	5	9
Heads of families attending motion pictures	3	6	9
Heads of families who have taken long trips	5	5	10

in the National Service during these wars. A high ratio of the settlers of Maple Grove went to the Civil War and some of them found it difficult to retain their land when they returned, being saved only by the financial support of a settler from France who had made considerable money in Pennsylvania before coming to Maple Grove. From the area within two miles of this hamlet, eight of French Canadian descent went to the late war, and one of them died in Europe. This has occasioned the local observance of Memorial Day. There has also been a more or less conscious acceptance of the national symbols. As noted heretofore, Independence Day has been regularly celebrated with great festivity and ceremony.

Travel and other forms of mobility necessarily involve social contact and thus contribute to the blending of folkways. The French Canadians brought traditions of fluidity, and the visiting of friends and relatives in distant localities promoted acquaintance with the general culture. The quest for new lands and the migration to the cities in response to economic competition likewise engendered extensive contacts. Such mobility began soon after the founding of the settlement and has continued to the present time. Of the relatively large number of the early settlers who migrated West, some returned. Others have made trips to the

far West for pleasure, often for the purpose of visiting their relatives (See Table XIX.) Consequently, they speak familiarly of the nation from the geographical standpoint

Social contacts incidental to business activities have contributed to acculturation both from the general culture to the French Canadian folkways and from the urban to the rural mannerisms. Since the early days of the settlement, marketing and buying have been carried on at one of the nearby villages and even at the larger urban centers of the county. Persons of the second generation usually made such business trips once or twice a year, their sons went more frequently in buggies and light wagons, and their grandsons go as a matter of casual routine.

Although most of the merchants in these larger centers were formerly of French Canadian extraction, contact with them was a source of acculturation. Indeed, assimilation was aided by these similar antecedents, for the common language enabled the rural residents to learn from their more urbanized compatriots. Visiting with urban relatives and friends had a like result. For example, about thirty per cent of the present population of Kankakee is of French Canadian descent and by preference the older people still converse in French when they congregate. These contacts with the urban markets and residents have facilitated the adoption of the styles, especially in dress, which are observed there. One who came to Maple Grove from Kankakee in 1897 found the people here "old-fashioned and countrified," but trying to keep up with the styles, which they copied from those they saw in the city or from those of the village who had already adopted them.

Commingleing of the people of Maple Grove with those from other surrounding towns occurred in such activities as dances, card parties, picnics, and other forms of conviviality. These events have occurred frequently, thereby supplying occasions for intimate exchange of ideas by people of the various communities.

The dance hall at Maple Grove, which was one of the first of this region, was occasionally patronized by people living at a distance of twenty miles. The majority of these visitors were descendants of French Canadians, and of these the larger number were relatives and friends. But individuals from other antecedents were often attracted, some of them explain, by "those beautiful French girls."

Beginning with the third generation, the young people of Maple Grove also went to dances in other towns, especially those inhabited by French Canadians, where almost everyone had numerous relatives and friends. When the hard roads were constructed, those who could afford to buy automobiles, and those having friends who owned them, began to attend dances almost exclusively at the larger towns of the county.

For some amusements the people of Maple Grove have always depended on the city. Circuses at Kankakee were attended by the second generation. Informants state that they started from Maple Grove as early as four in the morning so they would be on time for the parade. The farmers of Maple Grove have always attended the county fairs and several have made it a practice to visit the state fair at Springfield.

The young people of the third generation went to larger towns to see public spectacles of various kinds. They even went to the cities for Independence Day, when there was a "celebration" at Maple Grove. Now the local "celebrations" have ceased and the residents readily go to town for these merry-makings. The French Canadians' own great day, that of St. John the Baptist, was celebrated at Kankakee until 1928. On this day picnics and patriotic speeches recalled the chief events of Canadian history. Especially since the coming of the hard roads, those of all ages who could afford it, have attended the moving pictures at the largest town in the county. Families attend as a unit, and young people go in groups to these amusements.

Participation in these various activities has resulted in the imitation of the behavior patterns characteristic of the wider urban and national culture. One of these imitations—the adoption of the behavior ways of the village high-school children by these rural children—has already been mentioned. Other changes have occurred in the important characteristics of this local culture group, as for example, in the marriage customs and the size of the family. The French Canadians brought a tradition favoring the large family system. The number of children per family among the French Canadians in Canada, according to Hopkins,¹ is usually from ten to fifteen, and it may even be as high as twenty or twenty-five. The explanations which he offers for the

¹J. C. Hopkins, *French Canada and the St. Lawrence*. Philadelphia: Winston, 1913, p. 242.

high birth rate are the survival of pioneer practices and the encouragements supplied by the government and the church. During three generations, at Maple Grove, an average reduction of more than 50 per cent has taken place in the number of children per family. Data were obtainable for a total of fifty-three fami-

TABLE XX
CHANGES IN SIZE OF FAMILIES DURING THREE GENERATIONS

Number of Children in Families	Number of Families Having Specified Number of Children			
	Generations			Total
	1	2	3	
1		1	2	3
2			2	2
3		4	10	14
4	2	3	2	7
5	3	4	1	8
6	1	4	2	7
7	1	1	1	3
8	1	1		2
9	2	3		5
10		1		1
11	1	1		2
12		1		1
13				
14				
15		1		1
16				
17	1			1
Total ..	12	25	20	57
Average	7.5	6.5	3.3	5.8

lies, of whom twelve belonged to the immigrants, twenty-five to their children, and twenty to their grandchildren. These data, which are recorded in Table XX, imply that this local trend conforms to the general changes in folkways.

The influence of culture contact was also suggested by one of the local parish priests. He believes that the decline in the size of the family has been due to the presence of a considerable number of Belgians, among whom families have habitually been smaller than those of the French Canadians. It is probable that this reduction was partly due to the imitation of Belgian customs, especially since there has been considerable intermarrying be-

tween the two groups. But the decline was probably due also to imitation of the general culture, and especially the folkways of the city. In discussing the reduction in the number of children, persons of the third generation who are also parents, are clearly of the opinion that this reduction has been highly beneficial, and they are critical of those who have persisted in having large families.

Another index of assimilation is an increasing tendency to marry outside of the local culture group. Such community and cultural exogamy is shown in Table XXI. Of 83 persons of the second generation, 68 per cent married residents of the Maple Grove community, and a total of 87 per cent married those of the same national antecedents, largely of this and nearby communities. Among 92 persons of the third generation, the respective percentages are 54 and 74. Among 11 marriages of the fourth generation, 9 married outside of the community, and at the same time crossed both nationality and cultural lines in their marriage selection. This may mean either that other cultures have a preponderating prestige with the fourth generation or that due to the frequent kinship arising from previous local endogamy, persons of the fourth generation are forced to look in other areas and groups for suitable marital partners. At all events, these data indicate fusion with the general population. The family thus becomes an increasingly important agency, as well as an index, of assimilation.

Marriages with Belgians have not taken place to a great extent, probably due to the wide differences in wealth. Where wealth has been nearly equal, marriages between French Canadians and Belgians have occurred. Such cleavage along lines of wealth also obtained among the other cultural groups in this community. Marriage of Catholics to non-Catholics has been persistently discouraged by the church, but occasionally it has occurred. Apparently there has never been any strong prejudice against it among the people. The young bride or groom, however, is usually taken into the local church before the marriage. In an area of several miles surrounding Maple Grove, the residents are almost exclusively adherents of the Catholic parish. Therefore the occasions for religious exogamy or of induction into the local church through marriage have been relatively rare.

TABLE XXI
INTER-COMMUNITY AND INTER-CULTURE MARRIAGES, BY FRENCH CANADIANS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS, BY GENERATIONS

Residence and culture of marital partners selected by persons of French Canadian antecedents	Generations										Total	
	1		2		3		4					
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
	French—at Maple Grove	7	100	57	68	50	54	1	9	115	60	
French—Elsewhere	0	0	16	19	18	20	0	0	34	17		
Belgian—at Maple Grove	0	0	7	9	4	5	1	9	12	6		
Others—at Maple Grove	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	3	3		
Others—Elsewhere	0	0	3	4	17	18	9	82	29	15		
Total	7	100	83	100	92	100	11	100	193	100		

The group has at no time been opposed to the acquisition of the folkways of the adopted country. Indeed, education, at least the acquisition of the English language, was welcomed, probably as a means of aiding adjustment to the new environment. The sentimental attachment to the group heritages were so strong that these people retained their vernacular into the fourth generation. But interest in Canadian hero stories did not continue into the third generation except as a label of respect for ancestors. The group made the transition to a new set of folkways so gradually that no great tension was produced in the young of any of the three native-born generations. There have been a few signs of personal crises among the young in consequence of their attempt to obscure their cultural antecedents. But the process of internal change in response to differences in cultures has been accomplished at a normal rate and with comparatively little disturbance. Such disorganization in the community, as that which is reflected in petty strife and working at cross purposes, may be ascribed to the waning of the earlier traditions of mutual aid and the individuation of the rural population, due to the encroachment of urban ways, especially the individual schematization of life.

From the foregoing it will be noted that the smaller rural social group is undergoing change, if not disintegration. The breakdown of the local culture has proceeded unequally in the communities reviewed because of differences in permanency of the population, internal conflicts, the duration of the exposure to the competing folkways, and the attitudes provided in the local groups themselves. Differences in the degree of change are also recorded by the unequal morale of the groups.

Whether these transitions are an index of progress it is impossible to say. Statements concerning the advantages of any one form of culture are necessarily based on presuppositions which are themselves usually given in the points of view of a particular social group. In other words, conduct pertaining to the various aspects of associated living belongs in a social and cultural system. Because folkways are complex, it is inexpedient to make a single evaluative statement concerning them. Some items may be estimable and others objectionable from a given point of view, but in the main they tend to be judged by the uses they serve.

In both communities the loss of the distinctive local traits has been hastened by the general process of urbanization, whereby the center of attention has shifted from the hamlet to larger places. This process has been greatly accelerated during the last two decades because of the new forms of contacts available. However, it cannot be said that the earlier cultures are wholly lost, for even in those areas where the former folkways are fast disappearing, the local traditions retain a coloring which can be traced to the earlier forms of organization in these rural groups. When viewed in their historic perspective, the trends noted are seen to be merely one more item in the ceaseless process of modifying rural social life through the rural-urban interchange of influences.

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